1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

but he did face about, and forgetting his seketi began to pole in earnest.

In a few moments his body glistened with the exertion, and over the circle and snake of kamemba in the small of his back the perspiration ran down in a trickle. When he had almost caught up he slackened his speed, and he and Bibifo talked about the river. Old Bibifo knew the river well. He was born beyond the Granman's country. A snake swam across the path of the boat, Bayo said. It was good luck. "See, look," he called. His eyes were sharp. The old man saw it, too, and then he called to us. There, close to the shore, a little ahead of us, a constrictor twined its tail about a liana, hanging head down, with a salamander slowly disappearing into its mouth. There was a slight jerk, the liana shook, the snake swallowed, and another bit of the salamander was out of sight.

Farther ahead we heard the report of a gun, and the crying of the mate of the wounded bird followed us for a long while. Bayo and Bibifo identified each cry, called by name the things that grew, planned about their timber rafts when they got back, until the next rapids were reached and passed and the conversation could be resumed, and then they talked about things which they did not care to have the Bakra know, and though they spoke none of the words of their ritual language, we could not understand anything they said. It was not until later that we learned to work out some of the elisions in their speech.

A strip of sandy beach showed where a village stood, and as we passed it, we could see the asang, the spiritual guard of palm fronds, preventing evil spirits from entering the village. We saw also a strip of white hanging from the end of a stick which had been put up for the ancestors, and beyond, the low shelter for the roughly carved and weathered image holding an obia pot on its head. Under the asang the path stretched like a narrow ribbon which was soon lost as the walls of green converged.

"Is that another village?" we said, pointing at a pale stretch across the river.

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●361 "This is the entrance to the farm of a Gankwe family. And there, can you see? That's a broken village. Many people died there. The others left it. This happened when Bayo was small."

4

805 "How many hours, Bakra?" Bayo asked. He could tell time by the sun and guessed almost exactly. "They are stopping on the rocks there. It's time to eat."

264 The Bush Negro usually has two meals a day, one in the early forenoon and another at night after dark when work is over. He eats little. These men were on the river with us ten or eleven hours a day, poling upstream, loading and unloading the boats where the rapids were so high that it was impossible to take the heavily loaded boats across them, and what we saw them eat was some cassava bread [263] dipped in river water to soften it, and some cold rice with a little palm oil in it. They had no time to fish, and it was a bad year for fishing, too. Of game there was little. [224] A few toucans and a monkey were all they could get along the shore—game was scarce even in the deep bush. For more than a score of decades their ancestors had been shooting game along the river, and now the animals kept away.

In the other boats Asikanu was the first served.

"Look, here is your food."

The front paddler put a calabash filled with rice and some cassava bread on the water, and the stream carried it to Asikanu.

"Did you catch it?"

"Ai."

484 26 In Sedefo's boat the cassava cakes were green with mold. One by one these disks of a finger's breadth in thickness and perhaps thirty inches in diameter were laid on the hot rocks to dry. On a trip such as this, enough must be taken to feed a man during his entire absence from home. Well in advance a man's wife, or his mother or sister, or a maternal aunt will be told of such a trip so that she may

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-8 (1928-1929) 1934
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574 609 In his own house, Fandya continued to urge our staying. "Ame'ika Fandya," he said—the year before he had given his own name to the white man—"remain with us tonight and tomorrow. I am an old man. I would like to know that you saw a dance in my village. When you go to the Neng'e country, I would like you to say that Captain Fandya knew how to treat a stranger who came as a friend. Last year when you were here you said you would come with your wife. You have come. Your wife has come. Last year you came, and since then all has gone well in our village. Today there are not many people about. The women are [862] away in the fields harvesting the rice; the men are in the bush hauling lumber. But tomorrow night the women will come in from the planting grounds, because the day after they may not work in the fields, and tomorrow, too, the men will come. Stay and see our dances."

And the bassia, the man second in command, said, [1189] "Mati, last year I took an obia against the evil eye from my own door and gave it to you to hang over yours, that enemies entering your house might not bring in with them bad magic. All has gone well with you. Stay. The gods have shown they favor our friendship."

2

• 361 The will of the Gankwe men had, however, prevailed, and we reached the village of Pa'aba that day in good time. It was one of the largest on the river. In front of the azang 501 which guarded the road new boats lay on their sides, and farther up the path were others in the making, some black inside with charring, others huge hollowed-out logs, like gigantic drums, waiting for the hand that would set their pulses beating. These boats were as large as any we had seen on the river, as large as the boat Sedefo had rejected because it rolled and he had to think of his kunu.

[856] Kasanya said, "This is a prosperous village. They make the best boats on the river here."

And Bayo said, "Ai, this village has strong men."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
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Baikato, Chief Fyodya's village.

[Facing p. 90]

THE PROVISION GROUND

It is told that this practice of isolating the provision ground was a heritage of the days when the ancestors were escaping from slavery, for then the whites were at war with them, and villages had often to be deserted. But to desert a village was one thing. What local spirits were there could be urged by the proper magical invocations to follow to another site. Men did not, after all, derive their food supply from a village. It was the provision ground upon which life depended. The provision ground had at all costs to be saved. Access to it was, therefore, made difficult. Trails were never clearly marked, and were often marked to mislead the invading enemy. The river bank was allowed to give no hint of shielding, behind the thicket, a clearing where crops grew to feed the warriors and their families. When a village was destroyed by the enemy, the Bush Negroes fell back on their fields and maintained life. To this day, it is said, this practice holds, for though hostilities ended more than a hundred years ago, the planting grounds are rarely found close to a village.

Walking behind Kasanya in the darkness which gave to each down-hanging vine the outlines of the great aboma snake, held sacred in this bush, we fell to wondering whether in this, as in so many instances, the accounting for current beliefs, in terms of the experience of slavery alone, would prove inadequate.

"We have arrived, Bak'a," said Kasanya, interrupting our speculations. His eyes were sharper than ours, for not even when he spoke did we see the widening of the path and the clearing beyond. Yet fewer than a hundred additional paces found us facing four small huts scattered about a sandy open place, and a woman who was on her way from one house to another turned toward us. She listened to what Kasanya said, with her head slightly averted, pulling at her pipe all the while.

"Ai, they can stay," she said, pointing to the largest of the four houses. "As many of you as can, sleep there. The house next to it is for provisions. We have not much to offer here."

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"I'll tell you how it is mostly," he went on, after a silence. "Sometimes a woman will lie about the father of her child. The child will grow up keeping the trefu of a strange man. But it won't be his real trefu. His mother, you see, lied about his father. In the end, if nothing is done, this child will be sick, and later he will become a leper. Only a bad woman will lie about her child's father, because only a bad woman will want to hurt her own child. It doesn't happen among the girls who wear kerchiefs and live the way the old people live. These girls dance to the spirits. They are afraid of the ancestors. They are afraid of their *akra*—their soul—and the Earth Mother. But those girls who wear hats—ai, Massa, those girls do anything!"

But here in the bush, it seemed, they had other beliefs about leprosy, he went on. Here they believed it was a kind of a spirit, too. When a leper died he was not given a good burial. No wakes were held for him. He was given no coffin. He was buried in the Bad Bush, where the sorcerers were thrown.

"When a leper dies, they don't want him to come back again. They don't treat his spirit well. They do the same with him as with a madman. They bury him with no more ceremony than a child, who came on earth, and would not stay. They say it's all because of a bad spirit, and they don't want bad spirits on earth."

4

"Why do we plant away from the village?"

It was the old woman talking, as we sat and smoked with her. The moon had come up above the maripa palm trees behind the house where the leper had been helped into his hammock, and it was pleasant out-of-doors.

"Why, you ask? Well, sometimes when the bush is burned, a wind comes up suddenly, and sends the flames, down, down, beyond the cleared ground. How would it be with a village, if we cleared our grounds too close to it, and this happened? No, Bak'a, we people of the bush know better. . . . What do you say? Why do we do our clearing

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away from the river? When the big rains come, the river goes up more and more. If our crops were too close to the water, then in the big rains the land would be flooded, and the crops long under water. . . . Yes, and we have to think of the ants, too. Ants, once they find their way into a field, will destroy everything. They like especially the green leaves of the young cassava plants. When the young leaves go, there is no cassava. So we move farther and farther away for our fields. Two, three years, and new fields must be cut, so that the yield might feed us all."

Once a field had been deserted, say, for five years, why did they not reclaim it later? we enquired, for by that time the big bush would have made fertile again the soil that had been exhausted.

"In this bush we do it like that. Why, I don't know. Our ancestors found much land for us. When we want new fields, we cut farther and farther into the bush."

5

As Bayo and Angita set off for the dance at Pa'aba, Kasanya and Sedefo joined us, and we talked of crops and planting, of woman's work and man's, of good harvests and bad, and this is what was told us.

Finding a new field and clearing it is a man's task. If a man is about to be married, or if the field a man's wife works has become exhausted, then he goes into the forest, near to the planting ground of his mother and to the fields of his family, and casts about for a place to clear. A field must not be in a hollow, or the crops will not grow, and rice needs the sun of a hill slope to thrive. Once having found a spot where the drainage is good, he looks about to see if the spirits will allow its use. Patiently, painstakingly, he goes from one clump of matted vines to the next, machete in hand, searching for signs of an ant hill, or an Akatasi tree that is sacred to the gods of the ant hill, or for snakes, or a natural clearing belonging to the Apuku gods of the bush. No silk-cotton tree must be there, no loko tree wherein dwells the god of the same flame so near that it

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1929-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramaca

Later, through the gathering darkness, the people of the neighboring villages went home, paddling their boats which were loaded down with the fish that had been netted. And from this time on, everyone knew that this neku vine was the property of him who had found it, and of his family, down through his mother's line, forever.

"Ai, mati, you would have seen something, if you had got here for the neku dance!"

6

Like any other Bush Negro village, S'ti was a series of sandy clearings about which were grouped huts of woven palm fronds and palm thatch. All about was the big bush. The trails which led from the village were each guarded by a magically treated palm azang, and shrines to the ancestral spirits who saw to it that evil was kept away. Where the several paths led, a stranger was not encouraged to discover. Down one, women were to be seen disappearing in the morning with trays on their heads, their infants astride their backs, held inside the folds of a cloth which was fastened high above their breasts, and caught up again below them. In many upper river villages, this path led to the fields, some distance away. Others were the way to shrines, erected to those spirits which must be worshiped outside the village. Another path might lead to a brook, which the villagers held sacred. There were trails, too, which connected neighboring villages, and led perhaps farther yet, but for the stranger, the highway was the river, and no matter how short the distance between one settlement and another, he was not invited to make his way through the bush.

"You do not want to go through the bush, white man. In the bush are evil spirits," we heard many times.

A village clearing was divided into quarters. Each quarter was inhabited by one of the *mbe*, or extended families, and the quarter bore its name. It was composed of several households—five or six or more, depending upon the size of the

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village. A household was not confined to one building only, but few who were not men of rank and means had more than three. One was for the woman and her children, another for storing the crops, and the third was the man's treasure house, where women might not come. It was like the matter of wives. Only men of position could afford more than one. But if a man had two wives and both lived in his village, then perhaps five huts would bear a design identified with him on the carved side posts which outlined the low doorway. This design would recur in the various carvings he had made for his women—it was his crest. And though a man from another village, who was not related to him, might like it, and liking it copy it, this practice would be socially frowned upon.

A village quarter, however, did not contain only dwelling places, and storehouses, and men's treasure houses. Certain families also had in their part of the village an enclosed shrine for the family gods. If in a given family a powerful Vodu, or snake god, had come to an ancestress and had in a dream, or in a seizure, or through a revelation made to an obia man, chosen her as his *'asi*—his priestess or medium—then with this disclosure came the instructions for the place of locating a house of worship to that Vodu, and the type of house it was to be. Such a shrine, once erected, would be kept in the quarter, and worshiped by the members of that family. Sometimes in front of a dwelling hut, a low enclosure, the size of a small kennel, would stand a little to the side of the door. This was a house to Toné, the river spirit. In one such house lived a woman who had a great Toné god. She had the gift of prophecy. When the men gathered for a council meeting in the village of the Granman, then she, too, would sometimes be bidden to come and sit with the men, though, being a woman, she could never speak at council meetings.

"Touch her skin," the other women said, pointing out this albino woman, "and you will have your desires fulfilled."

In each quarter, too, there was an open house where the women did their cooking, and perhaps a platform or two,

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where, in the proper season, maripa nuts and rice were dried.

One quarter differed very little from another, except that in one there might grow the plant which yielded the red and black beans used for the sacred rattles, and for playing the game of adji, which entertained the spirit of the dead while the body lay in state. Instead of a house to the family gods, there might be found a mound of earth in front of one doorway, with an axe-head lying upon it as a shrine for a man's spirit, or a low forked stick sunk into the ground, holding a pot with water and weeds in it for the curing powers of its obia.

A village of any size had also a quarter in which stood the communal buildings. The council house which might also serve on occasion as the house for the dead was there. The menstrual house for the women, a small building which was recognized by a broken calabash, or a porcelain pot brought from the white man's city, lying outside the entrance, stood a little to the side. The Kromanti house, and perhaps an enclosed shelter for the bush gods who shared the shrine with the snake deities, was also located somewhere near the open communal shrine. A village wherein lived the clan head contained in addition a house for the ancestral spirits of the clan. This was called a *Fa'aka-pau wosu*, literally a flagpole house, a euphemism for the shrine to the ancestors for whom white cotton was put up on sticks. In this Fa'aka-pau wosu prayers were offered up for all the important ventures of the clan, and in time of stress a priest would come there with sacrifices, to bid one of the ancestors to enter his body and give him sight. When seizure came on, such a priest prophesied. Sometimes the ancestors were consulted in the same manner as that in which the will of the dead was ascertained. Men would take up a sacred plank and carry it in a state of possession; the elders would put questions to the ancestor who had been called. The answers were construed as favorable or unfavorable according to the way the plank tipped.

Herskovits & Herskovits E-6 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
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Now we were in the true, true Saramacca country, the land which the Bush Negro feels to be entirely his own. White men, it is true, had been here before, but only a handful, and the gods of the river, who were powerful, saw to it that of these not many got back to the white man's land. True, true Saramacca country! Every Bush Negro we met on the lower river spoke of it with the deepest feeling.

"It is all right here," one man after another had said, "but wait until you see the upper river, the true-true Saramacca!"

It was here that the first Bush Negro villages had been built, though this seemed fabulous to the strangers who, in strong boats, guided by men who were wise in the moods and courses of the river, had had nine days of hard travel on the way. The lower-river villages began to appear only after peace had been declared and had proved lasting. Eighty-six years ago men from the upper river who lived beyond the Granman's own village, in the Grand Rio, had come down and built the village of Gansee, which was some four hours' paddling upstream from the railhead.

We spoke of this to Bibifo, who himself was born in this country.

"You may well wonder, white man."

Here was no danger of having to wrest a camp from the bush at night, when the short tropical dusk came to overtake the traveler. Villages followed close, one upon the other. Here was Ma'lobbi, where the beauty of the wood carver's art had made us linger beyond the time allotted to us for making the journey from S'ei to Asindopo Lantiwe. Here was Hei Kununu—High Mountain—which rose on a steep slope above the river, and was pleasant to see after the long stretches of flat plain that lay below. Semoisi, noted for its riches, was there, and Pempeh, bearing a name well known in the Ashanti country in Africa. Here villages were so close to each other that they could announce our approach on the talking drums.

"What is it we hear, Bayo?" we would ask.

"They are cutting down trees, Bak'a."

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SRS Bush Negroes SRS
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798 799 The other white man was the Catholic missionary who for years had been living in the Gran Rio. He was a friend of the Saramacca people, and they liked him. Now this white man wanted to see Dahomey. He said that he, too, had a strong God who protected him. He asked so many times that they at last promised to take him there. But when he got to Pempeh he fell asleep, and he slept till . . . till they reached the Granman's country. So his life was saved. The gods, knowing that he was a friend of the Saramacca people, did not want to kill him. They put him to sleep until Dahomey was well out of reach.

"And this is what happened to you, Bak'a. The gods did not want to hurt you, so you did not see."

2

133 Past these rapids and another stretch of rough water, and then before us lay the highest falls of the Saramacca. To the right, over a ledge of rock spreading in an unbroken sweep across its entire width poured the Gran Rio, the [361] river up which lay the villages of the Loango clan, and beyond, the untrodden jungle which barricaded the way to the country of the Indians, and the basin of the Amazon. To the left was the final bit of fast water that remained between us and the village where the Granman awaited us. We were at last in the Pikien Rio.

Here the stream narrowed, and we could see on both banks the people who were waiting to see us pass. The [574] gay colors of the women's cloths were brilliant against the background of green, and their hallooing reached our ears above the rush of the water. A canoe with several young men came alongside.

"We are here to help you with your boats. We have been sent by the Granman. Fire three shots to let him know you are in the Pikien Rio."

576 [201] We fired, and instantly there was an answering salute of three guns. With the reinforcement of paddlers, it did not take long to reach the island which separated us from the landing place of Asindopo Lantiwe. Here all strangers

THE GODS SPEAK

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[539]

"Wife of the G'aman,
I come from the river.
Go to the G'aman
Say to him,
These strangers are friends,
They bring no evil."

It was the god speaking, and the Granman's wife received with lowered head the words spoken through the priestess.

"Ai, my master. Ai, Massa Gadu," she said.

5

The Granman's paternal village was directly across the river from Asindopo Lantiwe. It was called Akisiamau, literally "Took with an outstretched hand," but whether there was also some meaning in the phrase not intended for the uninitiated, we could not learn. In size it was not much larger than the Granman's village, and again and again we recognized houses which were his by the crest-like carvings on the doorposts, that reproduced the design found not only at the side of the council-house door, but at the door of all other houses at Asindopo Lantiwe which were his.

361 643 [423]

Except for several old people who sat about in the shade and waited for the strangers to come to them with their greetings, the entire village followed us as we made our way down one path and another.

123

"*Bak'a, Ame'ika Bak'a, Ame'ika Fandya!*—White man. American white man, American Fandya!" the children called after us, as they ran at our heels, touching our canteens, our sun helmets, and shoes.

The Granman had spoken with especial fondness of his father's house, and it was there that we asked first to be taken. It was not occupied, we were told, and none might enter it. Above the top crosspiece white cotton was draped. Except that its door was closed, it showed no signs of being

342 643

REBEL DESTINY

A8A Sɛ̃ɛfo might greet his sister. It was almost a half-day's travel, going up river, from Asindopo Lantiwe, yet it was not quite noon, and we were passing it. Here was Hei Kununu, its steep slopes already swinging into sight as we rounded a bend of the river and came through the small rapids above the settlement, and still it seemed as though we had but begun our course down toward our base camp and the railhead. And it was still early in the afternoon when we came to Ma'lobbi.

2

462 At the landing place, women were about. Much of the work of the Bush Negro woman is at the river's edge, and for strangers like ourselves, passing in a dugout, the presence of women working on the bank was the only sign [361] that here was a landing place, and that farther inland lay a [512] village. To the river they came with their carved clothes [245] beaters, like the one we could see in the hand of the woman who greeted us here at Ma'lobbi, fashioned, as we later learned when she sold it to us, in the shape of a male vodu head on one end, and a female snake on the other. It was at the edge of the water that a woman scraped cooking pots [264] and calabash dishes with sand, and it was here, if it seemed a good day for fishing, that a woman would go wading in the water to rest a cooking pot on the river [204] bottom, and stand silently until an inquisitive school of small fish swam into it when, with a quick jerk, she would bring it up to take out what fish there were. This, aside from the use of small hooks, was the only kind of fishing a woman could do, for the fishing traps were for the use of men. But the cooking pot brought in many small fish to add flavor to a dish of rice.

123 As we walked into the village, accompanied by one of our 609 younger paddlers, the bassia greeted us. The head of the village was waiting for us, he told us. Paddlers of small boats on their way downstream had spread the word that our visit with the Granman was drawing to an end.

M. Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Surinam

Chapter XVI

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

1

IT HAD been a day of hard travel, down the Mamadam, through the Musumba Prati, and down the long wearying stretch of quiet water until we reached the Tita Buka Falls. The memory of the up-river passage of these troubled stretches had not yet worn down sufficiently to allow of contemplating the downgoing without a measure of strain, but our anxiety turned to astonishment when the paddlers, skirting above the thunder of the water, steered the boats into a barely visible channel down which we floated by easy stages.

"Mati-o," said chief Matailbo to the young men, when we had made the singularly fine passage, "the gods are taking them with pleasure. We must do the same!"

Passing the Gran' Creek he prayed from midstream, calling on the spirit of the creek, whom he addressed as ancestor, to give us long life in our white man's country.

Now we were here at Djamungo, at Bayo's village where, if he were only there, we should be seeing a fine dance, and where, what at the moment was far more important for us, many sacred objects awaited us. Djamungo was a village about whose magic other villages on the river were uneasy.

"Bayo is at Gankwe waiting for you. He is helping the men haul lumber, but when he hears you are back, he will come," said a woman who came up saying she was his

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

It may be of interest to recall the names of some of the old villages which constituted places of refuge for the escaped slaves in the early days and from which many of the forays were conducted against the white plantations. In the jungle between the Surinam and the Saramacca rivers were the following:

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Acoro-kriki	Alettoo
Amoma-kriki	Amama
Awara	Davo
Congo-kriki	Amama
Doussou-kriki	Mofinga
Cabrolse	Primo
Janwiri-kriki	Kwakoo, Klaas, Pedro
La Motte	Foolon
Matawarie	Adoo
Loango	La Motte
Toofinga	Coffie
Wana	Mathysie
Pada	Pambo, Magondi, Durie, Samaam

Higher up the rivers, separated from these, were still more villages continuing right on to the Brazilian frontier, even on to the Orinoco River, where some of the escaped slaves mixed with the Indians.

The villages between the Surinam and the Marowyne rivers were the following:

To the north of Paramaribo, between the Duivelsbroek

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

(Devil's Pants) Swamp and the ocean was the village of No Meli Mi (Don't Touch Me).

On the Upper Surinam River at the source of the Surnau Creek and to the north of the plantation Maastroom there was a village called Broos Condree; on the right bank of the lower Commewyne River, the village of the Headman Kopro-Kanoo (Copper Cannon) was situated.

On the Upper Cottica were the following havens of refuge:

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Gado Saby	David Voro
Corsary	Primo (Governor)
Meli Mi	Araby
Mi Sa Lasi	Boston
Tesi	Abram
Boesi Krei	Thoma
Kwami Condjee	Coffie
Karoe Condree	Jan Prado
Areisi Condree	Quakoo
Boucou	Baron
Aroukou	Bonny, Joli Coeur

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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The First Glimpse of a Bush Negro Village on the Upper Suriname River.

[Facing p. 32]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 191
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Chapter Three

THE JUNGLE CLEARING

THE first indication of a village is a group of empty canoes made fast on the shore. Behind them, a short distance inland, is the village of Lombe, the first real Bush Negro town at which we stop on the Suriname River.

Villages are seldom situated on the river bank, but a quarter to a half mile inland. The reasons for this are that the

[For caption, see category 86, p. 204 Analyst]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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river floods periodically, and might wipe them out if they were too near, and that the Bush Negro still retains, back in his mind, a strong fear of another war with the white man. In the latter event the Djuka villages would have to be camouflaged or hidden. Often, too, the villages are to be found just above a waterfall or rapids, as another hindrance to possible invaders.

At the landing we see bare-breasted Djuka women washing clothes or bathing their children. They do not evince much curiosity as we paddle up, for it is considered insolent to stare. The naked little ones are very much afraid of the white man. They scurry into the underbrush and watch us from behind trees. The older children remain and are proud of their courage. An old man is making a canoe. Most of the men are away on hunting or lumbering expeditions.

Leading up to the village is a winding path, cut by the violent rain until it resembles a ravine. Sometimes the river floods the path, forming a little muddy inlet into which the canoes stick their noses. One town is perched on a high bank, reached only by a hardwood ladder twenty-five feet tall. The blacks clamber up easily, unlike the awkward white man, who has difficulty with the missing steps.

We ascend the path; the frightened children return to their play, paddling about or fishing from the moored canoes. Sometimes the bahkra's coming has been announced beforehand by a system of drum telegraphy. A certain rhythm beaten on the tomtom informs the adjacent villages that white men are coming up the river, and why. In this way

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mote villages in this way; carrying his paddle before him, as a symbol of voyaging, he approaches the barrier or *azang pau*, halts before it, and clears his throat loudly. The rest remain some thirty feet behind. Someone comes out of the huts and inquires what is wanted.

One of the objects of the expedition being the acquisition of specimens of Bush Negro art objects, this is usually explained at the very beginning to prevent any misunderstanding. The following dialogue is typical:

"*Bakkrê wanny timbeh* (or *tanni*)"—"White man wants wood carvings."

Gannily, the black replies: "*Me no habbe fu selli*"—"I don't have any to sell."

Moi-Man, accepting this verdict, explains further: "*Bakkra wanny luku, wan pekein*"—"White man wants to look around, wants to see inside a bit."

"*Ah bon*," the Negro replies, meaning: "It's good." He returns to his hut.

The parley formally concluded, the paddler turns around and motions us to come up the trail into the village. The towns usually consist of a clearing a few hundred feet across, beyond which is the overhanging green wall of trees. Scattered about the clearing in no particular order are numerous huts, with an occasional palm or breadfruit tree beside them. The rest of the concourse is bare clay. Sometimes there is a flower garden in the centre. Here and there are tiny *God houses*, where the fetishes stand.

The villages vary greatly in size. Some, like Gansee, near

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Saramaccaner

30 the trading-post, are so large as to have street-like roads extending across them. Others like Nu have only eight or nine huts.

342 The walls and roofs of the dwellings are made of grasses and reeds, intricately woven into a herring-bone pattern that can be seen in the photographs. So tightly are they woven that the jungle rain does not penetrate. The uprights are hewn out of tree trunks, and those that form the doorway are [325] often deeply carved. So great is the decorative spirit of these people that every common utensil is carved until it becomes a work of art.

The roofs extend far beyond the walls, so that the projecting part throws a shadow on the walls, which lowers the temperature inside. In front, the roof extends a yard or more to form a shade in which the blacks may palaver. In front of the huts, always, babies are grubbing about in the dirt and yelling prodigiously.

Here and there are slightly dilapidated huts. They belong [766] to people now dead. No one will live in them or venture to repair the ruin of time. Neglected, they sink into decay. The [754] witch doctor's hut is also a bit frowzy; it seems to be a badge of his profession, like the sugar cane planted alongside his doorway or the turtle-shell impaled on a staff near by. All three are symbols of his calling.

352 A wall of woven mat divides some of the huts into two [353] rooms, the back room being used for sleeping. The men have hand-made hammocks of woven cotton or grass. Their wives 342 are provided with sleeping-mats on the floor. The front room

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Interior of a Bush Negro Village on the Cottica River, Dutch Guiana. *Aucaner Tribe.*
Photo by Klein

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Saramaccaner

gave rise to another Bush Negro nation known as the *Boni* tribe. There are also three other tribes today of less importance: the *Matawai* on the Upper Saramacca River, the *Quister-Matawai* which is a sub-tribe on the Copenam, and the *Paramacca* on the Middle Marowyne with villages on both the French and Dutch sides of the river.

The tribal divisions are strictly enforced. Not only is intermarriage forbidden, but each tribe has its separate government, and each is referred to locally as a "river nation." Each tribe likewise has its own territory, and any poaching by hunters, fishers, or balata bleeders is rigorously punished.

The ruler of the tribe is a king, or *granman*. Among the photographs is one of old Jankoeso, the kindly shrewd ruler of the Saramaccaner nation; the Aucaner ruler, Amekti, has just died, his place probably being taken by Matodja. The Boni granman is named Awensai.

The largest tribe is the Saramaccaner, with a population of about 14,000. Their village of Santi Gron (Sandy Ground), some twenty miles from Paramaribo on the Lower Saramacca River is the nearest of all Djuka villages to white civilization. But the main body of this tribe begins some ninety miles up the Surinam River from Paramaribo, and the villages are strung along the Surinam River for a hundred or more miles further on back into the interior. The names of some of these villages are: Nu Condree, Lombe, Gansee, Biodoti, Adawai, De Jun, Masumba Pratti, and Dahomey, and other towns of even more picturesque appellations: Boto-Passi, Poki Gron, Granman Condree, and many more.

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Saramaccaners

There are also a few villages, belonging to this tribe, situated on the lower Saramacca River, like Santi Gron, Toti Camp, and Maka-Creekee. On the distant Surinam is located the poetically named village of Futu No Habbe Ackaba, The Foot That Has No Resting Place.

Every tribe is divided into several clans, or *lo*, and these lo are subdivided into groups of families called *m'bele*, relationship being counted through the female line. These groupings are direct survivals of the slave days, descendants of groups of fugitives who fled into the bush together. Among the Saramaccaners there is the *Abaisa lo* of which our friend Abaisa is the chief. Another lo is called the *Inge Peeces lo*, meaning "piece of Indian clan," referring to the marriage of a lone Indian squaw with a rebel slave, back in the old days. There is the *Compawyi Nengre lo*, or "Company Negro clan" of blacks descended from the slaves who escaped from the Dutch West India Company. The *Dahomey lo* is a group of families especially skilled in the art of healing broken bones. Then there is a priesthood clan, the *Domini lo*, descended from the slaves of a plantation owner named Levy. Among the other lo are: *Matchow* (meaning axe), *Vondrake* (from a Dutch family named Van Drachte), *Baison Nengre*, *Luwangu*, *Nasi*, *Betu*, *Cumu*, *Quama*, *Papoto*, and the *Awaina lo* at Gansee.

At a strategic location on the Little Surinam River, the *Pekein Rio*, dwells the Granman Jankoeso. His village is ten days up the river from Gansee. It is situated in this inaccessible spot, on an especially fierce and rapid tributary, pur-

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Saramaccaner

posely to make the village as hard to reach as possible, to protect it from white invaders. From long experience the Djukas mistrust all white men.

In Jankoeso is lodged the general authority over the Saramaccaner tribe and the territory in which they live. He has forbidden the intrusion of any visitors unless they are announced several days beforehand, by messenger.

All the Granmans receive their title by matrilineal inheritance, and cannot be deposed. When one dies he is succeeded by his oldest sister's oldest male child, while his own sons never, under any circumstances, succeed him to the kingship. If there is no such person as his oldest sister's senior male child, then the succession passes on to the oldest male child of the nearest female relative. If the line dies out, and no relatives are eligible, the successor is elected by popular vote from among the captains of the river villages, but this seldom occurs. On such an occasion there may be a struggle between different lo, playing politics to get into power. Otherwise inheritance is strictly through the female line.

The Dutch government exerts only a nominal control over the Bush Negro tribes of the interior. Once every year the river Granmans come down the broad river highways to Paramaribo for a parley with the Governor of Surinam. After a ten-day canoe trip downstream, Jankoeso finds a train waiting for him at Kabel, to bring him ceremonially the rest of the way. The other rulers must come all the way by corial. On their long and often hazardous journey they are accompanied by their most powerful captains. The Gran-

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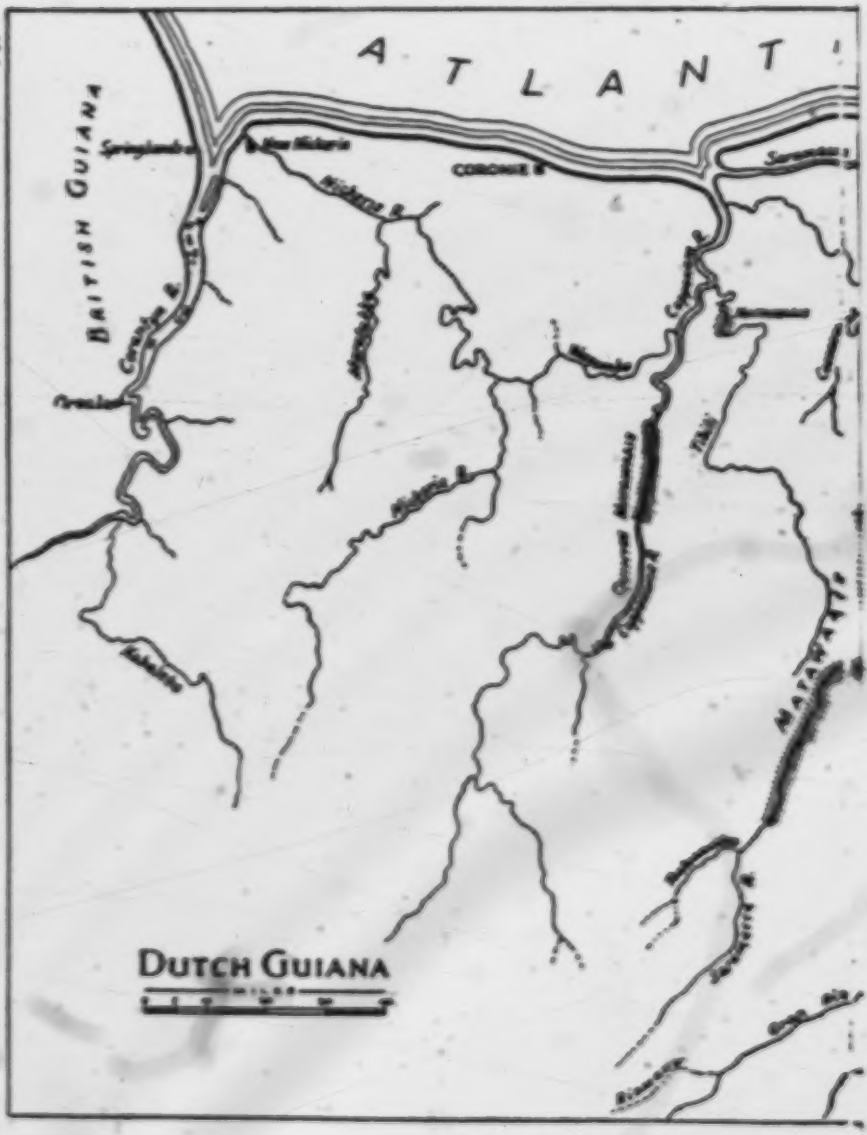

[Facing p. 100, Sec. A]

Distribution of Bush Negro Tribes
Drawn after a sketch by

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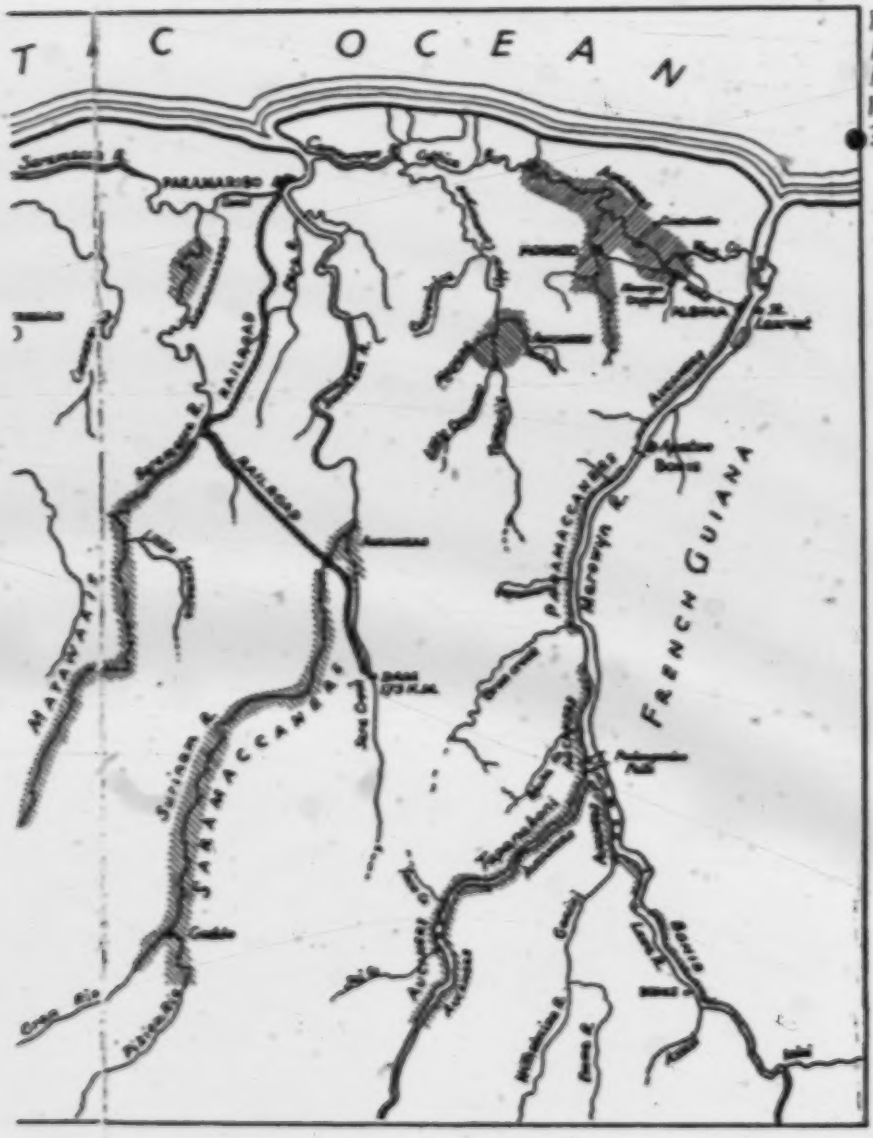

gro Tribes in Dutch Guiana
sketch by Rogalli

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Saramaccaner
Aucaner

and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers.

The Granman can call a meeting of his captains at any time. They must attend, even though it involves days of rigorous travel. Although the captains look up to the Granman and acknowledge him as their superior, the connexion between them is not close enough to be considered a hierarchy. The "river nations" are not monarchies in any sense. The only laws promulgated by the Granman are those that affect the entire tribe.

Neither the captains nor the Granman have any privileges or prerogatives to set them apart from the undistinguished natives; there is no leisure class. They are all dependent upon their own efforts to earn a living, and work like anyone else in the village. Rank does not make social parasites out of them, as among us. The Granman's only external distinction is that sent by the white man, the tribute from the Dutch government. The type of social organization now prevalent among the Djukas, therefore, may be described as primitive communism.

The Aucaner, second in number to the Saramaccaner, are scattered in a less compact way over the rivers and creeks of the colony toward the French Guiana line. This tribe numbers about 6000 in population.

Just below the realm of the Saramaccaner tribe, at the junction of the Sara Creek and the Surinam River (see map facing page), are some of the Aucaner villages: Koffay Camp, Lebbi Doti, Lasa Baka, Pitchong, Baku, and other settlements. There are few villages on the long Sara Creek, but

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Aucaner

after a day's portage from its source one may strike the Tosso Creek, which brings the lower Sara Creek Aucaners into the distant Tapanahoni River, where exist the main body of the Aucaner tribe. They inhabit both banks of the Tapanahoni, from its mouth where it flows into the Marowyne River to some distance beyond the far Jai Creek. The Aucaners, like the Saramaccaners, are divided into several lo or clans. The names of these are as follows: the *Missi Jon lo* and *Otto lo*, which are the most powerful and to which belong the families of the Granmans; the *Perica lo, Pata lo M'beh lo, Ju Nengre lo, Penasi lo, N'Yafi lo, Bray lo, Compai lo, Deekah lo, La Paix lo, Ke-o Condree lo*, and *Pooloogoodoo lo*. The head of the lo is called *Papa fu ah lo*, "father for the lo."

Beside these, the Aucaners have also divided their tribe into two separate parts, but they are both under the same Granman. These divisions are known as the *Uppo Nengre* (Upper Negro) and *Below Nengre* (Below Negro). The boundary between them being the Gran Hollo (Big Hole) Falls in the Tapanahoni River. The territory of the Below Nengre begins past the mouth of the Gran Creek and extends up the Tapanahoni River to the falls above mentioned. The islands in the Marowyne belong to this division and their territory also extends to the Dutch side of the Lawa River up to Aboona Sungu Falls (a man named Aboona sank there), which forms the boundary between the Aucaners and the Boni tribe in that region. Some names of the villages belonging to the Below Nengre Aucaners of that dis-

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

103 trict are as follows: Londo, Adjuba, Poko, Apah-gee, Bahnda,
361 Apindah, Capusee Tabiki (Armadillo Island), Purigoodoo, Ki-u, Behnanoo, One Finga, Nikerie, Manlobbi, Fahndahki, Clementi, Moompasa, Saaje, Bow-wee, Chung-Chung; and there are many others.

At and above the Gran Hollo Falls in the far Tapanahoni, we have the villages of the Uppo Nengre Aucaners: Sangamasusa, Peekehtee, One-Watra-Ah-Bah, Moi-Talkee, Sribawatra, Yowsa, Meinsie, Dree Tabiki (the seat of the late Granman Amekti, and the seat of the probable new Granman, Matodja, whose mother was the sister of Amekti). Other villages of the Uppo Nengre are Polocaba, Pekein Condree (Little Country), Lohabie, Tombeh-do-me (What Ails Me), E'Sai, Gado Hollo (God's Hole), Ahkay Kuna, and Gran Borree, the last village, beyond which is nothing but the impenetrable bush for hundreds of miles, and no habitation save a few scattered villages of the all-but unknown Indians of that region.

361 On the Dutch side of the Marowyne River there are also Aucaner villages of the Below Nengre extending from just below Albina, the small Dutch settlement, where the Aucaner village of Captain Acrowsie is situated, to just opposite the Boni village of Apatoo. The settlements in this area are:
[103] Papa Acroi Condree, Papa Blah Condree, Amon Yeh Condree, Tindalee, Swampu Condree, and Mahyoto.

In the region of the Upper Commewyne River and on the banks of the Mapane, Peninica, Little Commewyne, and Tempati Creeks are also Aucaner villages. These villages are

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Aucaner

the closest of the tribe to Paramaribo, some ninety miles distant. Some of them are called Nengre Condree Pepper, Gado Dri, Jaffa, Mus Mussi (Little Mouth). 361

On the Upper and Lower Cottica and Cormotibo Rivers, as well as on the Wane Creek which flows into the Marowyne River close to its mouth, and in the region of the Patamacca Creek, are more Aucaner villages:

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Upper Cottica, near Moengo
  Damtoppo (Top of Dam)
  Ferenkie (in the small Indufindu Creek)
  Peto Undro (in the Rikanau Creek)
Patamacca Creek
  Ifilaholo (He Filled the Hole)
  Lassa Undro
  Teme Koo
  Tanta Joe
Cormotibo River
  Toocopie
  Pekein Adjuma Condree
  Moengo Toppo (Top of Mountain)
Wane Creek (tributary of Cormotibo)
  Sebesay Condree
  Kopro Campa (Copper Camp)
Lower Cottica River
  Kumaku Dotee (Ant Hill)
  Langa Huku (Long Hook)
  Pekein Santi (Little Sand)
  Pina T'jari Me (Need Brought Me Here)
  Agiti Undro (Get Below)
  Wan Hatti (One Hat)

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

tribe of the Bush Negroes which owes allegiance to the French. They have never forgiven the Dutch for their relentless pursuit back in the old rebel days. Several years ago the Dutch authorities made an effort to invite the Bonis back into Dutch territory; these overtures, however, were flatly refused.

The derivation of the word "Boni" makes for interesting speculation, and three theories have been advanced to explain it. The first is that the word is derived from the French phrase "Bon Negre" or "Good Negroes" which the colonists of French Guiana applied to the Boni blacks because they were comparatively quiet and peaceful. It is also possible that the tribe may have been named after their famous rebel leader Bonny, who took such a formidable and prominent part in the rebellions. Thirdly, it has been considered that the name was derived from the Bonny River of West Africa, for undoubtedly some of the slaves came from that area. Although *B-o-n-i* is the official Dutch spelling of the word, when the tribesmen refer to themselves the accent is placed on the second syllable, and phonetically the word should be spelled *B-o-n-e-e* and pronounced much the same as the word *Pawnee*, the tribe of American Indians in the western United States. The Granman of this tribe, Awensai, receives his annual stipend from the Governor of French Guiana at Cayenne.

The first village of the Boni, situated on the French side of the Marowyne River, is that of Apatoo nestling at the foot of the Armina falls. The entire French side of the river from

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

361 103 that point has no further permanent habitations of the Bush Negroes. Past the realm of the Aucaners on the Lawa River (the confluence of which with the Tapanahoni goes to form the Marowyne) we find the continuation of the Boni tribe, consisting of the villages of Tahbiki, Pulumuffo, the seat of the Granman, Loka, Papai-Seton, Agodai, Komuntibo, Cottica (the only Boni village on Dutch territory, but whose inhabitants also owe allegiance to the French), Akuba, and the last of all the Bush Negro villages, Assisi, past the mouth of the far Assisi Creek.

177 The Bonis, although the most remote of the Bush Negroes from the plantations from which they originally escaped as slaves, have certainly succumbed the most to the influences of the white civilization. Even the village of the Saramaccaner tribe, Santi Gron, only some twenty miles from Paramaribo, maintains in true aboriginal fashion its African customs and its heathen gods.

797 The French Catholic priests have been more successful in making converts among the Boni than have the Dutch among the other tribes. In one village, however, we saw the usual heathen fetishes on full display, but we were told that they only afforded real protection to those who *believed* in them. Some of these tribesmen wear trousers and the headcloth of the French Guiana Town Negroes. We have even heard it whispered that some of the Boni own shoes, which [689] is an unspeakable offence against the code among any of the other tribes.

Although the huts are of Africanesque architecture, similar

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
Paramacca

façades of their huts are often elaborately carved. The drums and other Bush Negro implements take the usual West African form, but the treatment of the motifs among the Boni differs somewhat from that given by the other Bush Negro tribes. The spiral, snake, liana, and coil designs are less in evidence; the patterns are usually more angular in character than similar pieces from the Saramaccaner and Aucaner. Animal, human, and bird figures are more common in the designs of these French Guiana tribesmen, as the collection brought back for the American Museum of Natural History attests. Also, personal decoration by scar-tissue patterns seems to be less in evidence among the Boni. In all other respects, however, their culture seems identical with that of the other Djukas.

The Paramacca tribe, now numbering about 500 in population, was founded by one man and two women, who were slaves on a plantation in the Upper Commewyne River. They escaped by way of the Tempati Creek in 1813, then travelled over the watershed to the head of the Paramacca Creek, a tributary of the Marowyne River. For a long time they built villages at the head of the Tempati Creek and later at the head of the Paramacca Creek, being afraid to go into the

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramaca

175 Marowyne River on account of the Boni and Aucaner tribes,
361 who were long established there and who were much stronger numerically than the newly arrived Paramaccas. They finally came out of the creeks, however, and founded a village on the Dutch side of the Marowyne River near the mouth of the Paramacca Creek. The main seat of the tribe is
[103] now the village of Langa Tabiki (Long Island), which, as the name denotes, is an island in the Marowyne River. This is the village of the Granman. Beside Langa Tabiki, there is
361 the village of Amerika Condree (from a Bush Negro captain
103 called Amerika). This village is situated on the island of Boni Boro, which means the "Bonis arrived." A third important village is that of Akodo Condree, captained by one Akodo and situated on an island of the same name in the Marowyne River. There are lesser villages on the Dutch bank of the Marowyne extending just past the mouth of Gran Creek. The Paramacca village of Seeton Ponta (Pointed Stone) is situated on the French side of the Marowyne. The older villages in the Paramacca and Tempati Creeks have long since been abandoned.

115 In Seeton Ponta we had a long talk with an old Captain
159 Koffay who claims to be some eighty years of age and whose appearance certainly bears him out. He is the grandson of one of the original women slaves who escaped and aided in founding the tribe. He can remember his grandmother telling of the terrible privations of the early days when they first escaped into the jungle, how starvation nearly overtook them on a number of occasions, how they wandered for forty-

123 /4 cont./
675 drink something from it or merely smell it; indeed! when it was empty, the remaining men who had not yet drunk from it or smelled it had to lick it.

I was then embraced by the headmen and many of the women; they flung the right arm over my left shoulder and the left arm under my right arm and rested their heads for a moment against my right cheek.

[273] After the conclusion, while much dram was drunk, general exuberant gaiety prevailed, and only then was /5/ I told that they had purposely cut me first and given me a drink first in order to ascertain whether I trusted them completely or whether, so entirely by myself; I would have been afraid to submit to their wishes and to do what they demanded of me; they assured me that if I had refused to be the first, none of them would have wanted to conclude the agreement with me.

If, therefore, I had not conducted myself as they wished, I would have missed out completely on this alliance which was so highly important and profitable for me.

466 On the following day many of them came to tell me that
313 their work places on the river Cottica supplied little of the kinds of wood that had been pointed out by me for processing, but they declared themselves ready to go and process them immediately for me on the Upper Commewijne river, where they were sure of finding richer forests.

Since the last-named river was closed to them at that time by a governmental decree, I made a request for access in the year
• [361] 1854, in order to be able to work with them at this river. This was granted to me, and since then a few hundred Bush Negroes have been staying there and have laid out dwellings and croplands, while they continuously, with unexampled industry, process the wood needed by me and deliver it to the sawmill.

/139 cont./

13 seems too high to me), the ants can bring into the soil each year two to three tons of leaf material per hectare. As a result the soil would be so enriched with humus and, in addition, through the construction of the numerous nest corridors, receive so much extra ventilation that the oxygen content and the microbiological condition of this soil would tend to differ from the mineral soils in which the virgin forest is rooted. As proof of this, it is stated "that even the oldest ant-kapoeweri directly behind the villages shows no tendency to grow into normal high forest" (p. 13).

114 137 136 It does not seem correct to me to ascribe this kapoeweri phenomenon only to the presence and the activity of the leaf-cutting ants. In my opinion the ants here constitute a troublesome contributing factor, for when the virgin-forest grounds are abandoned by the population and no new food material is available to the ants while the kapoeweri gradually grows into higher forest, then the balance in the ant population re-establishes itself. This process takes place at a slow rate, depending on the local circumstances, but it leads to the re-establishment of the original situation. There is, however, one condition connected with it, namely, that the forest be left in peace for a long enough stretch.

241 134 Now this last is not the case for the grounds area of the Bush Negroes. They return too soon (within ten years) to clear grounds again, with the consequence that the soil becomes too exhausted and the recovery of the forest becomes impossible.

171 241 137 [136] [161] [423] [361] Proof for this viewpoint is already provided by Stahel (loc. cit.) in his consideration of the agriculture of the upland Indians. The absence of the ant-kopoeweri there is not a matter of a lesser ant infestation, as Stahel /140/ believes -- for in places this is equally serious -- but of a less intensive use of the forest lands. The Indians are present in small numbers (a few hundred, as against thousands of Bush Negroes), while only communal plots are laid out for one village, and not different ones for each family. In addition, the Indians move frequently in order to find new hunting and fishing grounds.

/141 cont./

4. The Agrarian Law

241 #23 There is yet another circumstance which adversely affects the agriculture of the Bush Negroes. As among many primitive peoples, so also in the life of the Djoeka /Djuka/ customary law plays an important role. We have already seen that at least two grounds per year are laid out per household. In fact it comes down to this, that both the man and the woman possess a ground of their own. Now these two grounds do not lie next to each other or close to each other. On the contrary, the one ground is always hours away from the other one; it is to be found on the other side of the river or elsewhere along a forest creek. One might think that this is a kind of division of risks. In actuality it is a question of family property. The ground of the wife is cleared in the area of her family, and the ground of the man in his family complex. The grounds are thus laid out with reference to the large family and not with reference to the household. Each family has a definite area where it has the right to clear grounds. This area lies along a forest creek, or one lays out a path from the river through the forest, along which the grounds [578] are cleared. Not infrequently, quarrels arise over the use of land by "unauthorized" persons on distinctly family land.

A Bush Negro thus cannot simply select a piece of forest for his ground wherever he pleases. He is bound by the law of family property. This applies not only to the families among themselves, but in a larger context also to the villages. Each village has its area within which the families from that village lay out grounds. Only through marriage can men lay out grounds for their wives in the area of another village.

These complications in agriculture lead to the circumstance that the hunger for land arises much sooner than would otherwise [361] be the case. Add to this the fact that many Bush Negro villages remain in existence for a very long time, sometimes 100 years at [161] a stretch, in the same spot. It is therefore not surprising that through the growth in population in such centers, too, the limit of this predatory cultivation has been reached.

/141 cont./
241 of this predatory cultivation has been reached. The nearby
423 agricultural lands are kept in use with too brief a rest period, with
[134] the result that the soil is overworked and the periodic recovery
[125] of the forest proceeds at an ever slower pace. In addition one struggles to an increasing degree with the problem /142/ of the leaf-cutting ants, which keep the easily accessible places occupied.

241 The consequence of this circumstance is that the Bush Negroes
311 are forced to make the grounds farther and farther from their vil-
[484] lages. One travels for hours up or down the river in order to
[482] reach good land. When one cannot make good use of a forest creek in order to transport the produce from the field, one is forced to carry the harvest for one or two hours through the forest to the river. The Bush Negro does not go farther than a two hours' walk (about six kilometers from the river) (see the map /see p. 13 /).

241 On the Tapanahoni one spends even days in traveling to less
311 populated areas in order to plant and to harvest. One then estab-
361 lishes so-called work camps along the river, from which one
[103] operates in the surrounding areas. This is the case, among others, between Godoholo and Granbori for people from Drietabbetje or
311 other centers. That one does not go even farther up river, all the
423 way past the last village, Granbori, has to do with a prohibition
643 by the granman of the Aucaners. That is, the latter wants to reserve the lands lying beyond this point as hunting lands and therefore will not make them available for agricultural purposes.

244 The inhabitants of the villages along the lower Tapanahoni,
311 such as Sajé, Clementi, and Malobbi, frequently lay out their food
423 grounds in the Lawa, where they can have at their disposal agri-
361 cultural lands as far as the Aboenasoengoe Falls. Farther upstream
103 on this river the Bonni or Aloekoe Negroes assert their rights.

5. Differences between Aucaners and Paramaccaners

101 The conditions given above apply in the main to the Aucaner
162 Bush Negroes of the Tapanahoni. They number today approximately
[311] 6,500 persons. The Paramaccaner Bush Negroes of the Marowijne, approximately 1,700 in number, are in somewhat more favorable

/534 cont./

In the whole of the Amazonian forest these facts have been observed since the seventeenth century and have led to the replacement of Indians by slave manpower imported from Africa. The course taken in denying the biological realities and wishing to find at any cost a purely sociological explanation has inspired in recent years an ingenious explanation by several authors:

The success of African manpower was, according to them, due to the fact that the Blacks had a civilization closer to that of the Europeans, whereas the Amerindians were more hunters-fishermen than agriculturalists.

For any observer of good faith, the Indians of Guiana and the Blacks of the forests of the Congo and Gabon are largely on the same technological and cultural level. The Indians are certainly cultivators just as experienced as the Negroes; is one to forget that it was they who taught the rest of the world the greater part of the important tropical crops: manioc, maize, cotton, tobacco, and so many others? Hunting and fishing for them is only a secondary means of support; it is their instability, their lack of attachment to the soil, which may create an illusion on this point. It can be explained to a certain extent by the small size of the kinship groups; an ecological factor which does not exist in Black Africa must also be taken into account, the manioc ant, which swarms in particular in the zones habitually cultivated, promoting a seminomadism (18).

18. This factor plays only a secondary role, since the Refugee Blacks despite the manioc ant, maintain villages of permanent residence, only changing their crop plantings, but it is certain that it promotes the dispersion of the groups and seminomadism.

These considerations do not pretend to give a complete explanation of the social behavior of the Indians of the Amazonian forest. The biological characteristics of the group are only one of the factors of this behavior, parallel to many others, notably

/5 cont./

133 182 This extreme fragmentation of the relief must be remembered as one of the ecological factors influencing the human peopling most directly; it renders the transport of heavy loads impracticable, the establishing of roads practically impossible. Men are led to [361] settle along the rivers, which constitute the only routes of penetration toward the interior of the country.

133 132 All the important rivers flow into an alluvial valley whose width varies from some tens of meters to a kilometer, dry during the greater part /6/ of the year, but flooded under several meters 134 241 of water during the great rains of May-June. This annual inundation makes the alluvial lands unfit for agriculture; the inhabitants of Guiana cultivate only sloping lands and even very steep slopes readily; for good drainage of the soil is indispensable for the raising of manioc whose tubers, which remain in the ground for more than a year, are threatened with rotting.

311 The cultivable zone is in fact closely limited around each village. Practically, it is limited to a strip of 1,500 to 2,000 meters along the banks of each watercourse accessible to pirogues. [1182] [462] Transport of manioc tubers, carried on by the women several times a month, becomes impracticable if the distance to be covered with loads is greater than two kilometers at the maximum(1).

[101] [131] [184]

1. The Djuka, very numerous on the Tapanahoni, cultivate as far as three or four kilometers from the river; but in general, the Refugee Blacks prefer to build farming habitations at a distance of several days' by boat from their village when this gives them the possibility of farming in the neighborhood of the banks.

/6 cont./

133 Flooding is very variable according to the configuration of the rivers and the nature of the terrain.

133 At the Creole village of Grigel, situated at the bottom of
361 a glove-finger loop of the Waki River, the June flooding reaches
191 a level of eight meters above the average level in the dry season; the Creole and Indian villages of the Waki are established on hills. On the contrary, along the Lawa whose course is rectilinear, the variation in level is seldom greater than four meters. The maximum water level is 50 centimeters to one meter /above/ the soil of the alluvial terrace. Several of the Creole and Boni villages of the Lawa are even established at the very edge of the great river; the houses are built on piles and their occupants go home by boat during several weeks of the year. Nevertheless, most of the villages and farming habitations are outside the reach of flooding on terraces situated about five meters above the high-water mark, which are found from place to place at the edge of the river and which perhaps mark vestiges of an ancient terrace. This is notably the case with Boniville and Loka villages.

139 The whole of the territory is entirely covered by equatorial forest: a forest continuous and dense which extends over hundreds of kilometers without a village, without a clearing, without a trail.

The Guiana forest is less high than is ordinarily thought. It is an infinite succession of trees of all dimensions and of extremely varied species, among which true giants are rare; the average height of the cover is around 30 meters, and large trunks are rare.

824 The variety of species is very great; and the useful ones, few in number and dispersed, are difficult to exploit. The Refugee Blacks, who have a deep knowledge of the forest and its resources, utilize scarcely ten species out of the some 200 which they differentiate, judging the others unusable either because their

/I cont./

132 [513] The climate is relatively temperate and easy for the European to stand. In the forest the thermometer does not rise to more than 28° during the hot hours, to go back down to 21.5 at the end of the night: everyone sleeps with a blanket, Refugee Blacks and Creoles as well as Europeans. Humidity is very great during nearly all the year; precipitation averages three meters a year or about 50 centimeters less than at Cayenne. The year is divided into two seasons: "summer" from July to December, and the rainy season the rest of the year, with a maximum of precipitation in 133 May and June. The water level varies considerably in the course 132 of the year (several meters). The populations of the interior, [361] spaced out along the rivers, suit the rhythm of their lives to the [164] height of the water; the water rules transportation, fishing, and crops; moreover, a certain number of illnesses are in close relation to the rains, in particular those which have an insect for vector.

241 [134] Almost everywhere the soil is very poor in organic matter and fundamental ingredients, very waterlogged necessitating the practice of an itinerant agriculture on burned-over areas; the period of fallow ground varies from two to ten years, the optimum seem- [136] ing to be about six. The inhabitants of Guiana cannot allow ground to lie fallow regularly because of the ravages of the manioc ant, /B/ which is active especially in habitually cultivated zones. [134] Vain and costly efforts made by Europeans notably at Saint-Jean du Maroni about 1950, have shown that the fertility of lands not [242] burned over is practically nil. The Indians and the Refugee Blacks consider that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on the weight of cinders laid down during the burning.

When burned-over areas are cultivated, only one harvest is obtained; but this harvest is abundant, and the soil thus utilized can be regarded as relatively fertile. The knocking down and burning do not require great labor, so that primitive agricultural methods can be considered to give a good yield. As a matter of fact, the 241 diverse populations of Guiana, Creoles and Refugee Blacks, have 199 entirely adopted the methods of work resulting from the millennial

/8 cont./

experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large measure the same agriculture and the same food.

Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage"). The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of vegetables and fruits.

Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses. The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving without hindrance; they are a people of canoeists; their traditions are widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living finds in this a deep originality.

In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues. These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic vegetation prevents easy movement.

Actually, considering the very low density of the population, the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

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162 The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the
131 Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the
Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential
• 36 villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papaïston,
[103] Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages
founded more recently are established on the lower course of the
563 Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been dis-
turbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory
178 for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is
mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the
[181] other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still
make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory
361 on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in
[162] total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming
[161] villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands,
[648] penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French
[619] Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings
living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize
their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing
villages in it.

433 For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been
648 founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish
[461] specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in ex-
[465] change for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself
[178] threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is
[166] developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the Euro-
pean work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka
[182] of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the in-
terior cohesion of the tribes.

/15/

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE BONI

Villages

[3] [361] [133] Localization. The principal Boni villages have for 150 years been grouped on the Lawa (1) upstream from Abattis-Cottica Falls.

1. Let us remember that the Lawa and the Tapanahoni are the streams forming the Maroni. The Lawa constitutes the border between Surinam and French Guiana.

The limit of Boni country toward the south is vague. However, it is taken for granted that all the Abattis-Cottica belong [361] to the Boni. Boni farming villages and Djuka villages coexist downstream from the Abattis-Cottica as far as Abounasounga. Below Abounasounga begins Djuka country properly speaking (2).

2. In reality this is a zone of colonization, for the "great country" of the Djuka is the Tapanahoni. But the customary rights they possess on the Lawa lands are contested by no one.

423 643 [131] Traditionally, the Boni used to consider the whole of the upper basin of the Maroni as their domain or at the very least as territory under the authority of the grand man. Thus it was at

6:Hurault--21 K-5 (1948-1958)1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 ● Boni
French Guiana SR3
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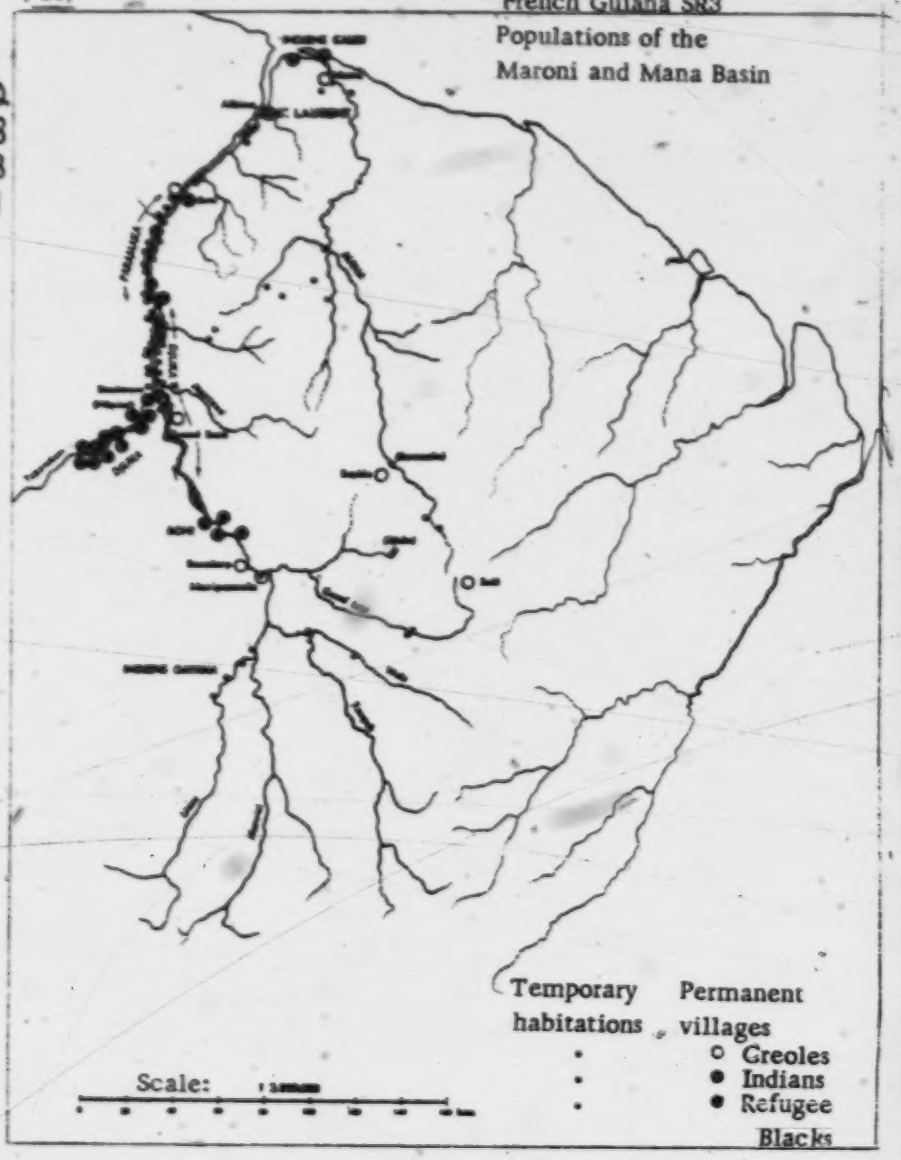

Fig. 2

/17 cont./

162 —On the Lawa a group of a little less than 680 persons is
103 settled on the French bank (villages of Agodé (Boniville), Asisi,
•361 Loka, Tabiki (l'Enfant Perdu), Lapé (La Paix), and Papaïston).

—In proximity to this grouping subsists under Dutch control the village of Kotika (Cottica), grouping about 150 persons.

—In the region of Abounasounga two small groupings live in symbiosis with the Djuka. Finally, in the lower course of the Maroni exist three villages: Apatu, Ma Imma, and Wétiti. The whole represents about 150 persons.

361 These villages are stable: Kotika, Lapé, Asisi, Kormotibo
182 were already in existence at the beginning of the 19th century
[175] and their names figure in the report of the Franco-Dutch border mission of 1861; by contrast, farming habitations are moved according to the necessities of agriculture and fishing; thanks to this organization, a relatively numerous grouping can, in the interior of Guiana, in spite of conditions imposed by the geographical environment, conserve complete stability and a firm attachment
[171] to the ground. It is useful to compare this organization with the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana, for it shows very well that this instability is ascribable to psychological and sociological factors and not at all to the geographic environment.

101 The Boni designate themselves by the term Aluku nēnge. The meaning of this word is forgotten. It is possible that Aluku was the name of an ancient chief, or of the founding ancestress
[613] of a lineage. On this subject it is to be noted that the name of the most ancient ancestress known of the Dju lineage, who can be thought of as living at the end of the 18th century, was called
[175] Aluku. This name has been used since the origin of the tribe;
[103] indeed one reads in the interrogation of the woman prisoner conducted in 1847 by the French at Oyapok that her village was called Loukou (1).

/19 cont./

613 621 571 The principle of localization of matrilineal kin groups, each in a separate village, continues respected. However, as in all African populations, the actual structure is noticeably different from the theoretical organization:

1st. Fragments of paternal kin groups, as well as several small groups of heterogeneous origin, insufficient in number to form a separate unit, have been agglomerated with the lo. Such is the case for example of the Toïna lineage, a small group which fled from Surinam at the end of the 19th century and agglomerated with the Papaïston lo;

[578] 2nd. Scissions have been produced within the lo as a result of disagreements. A group issuing from the Papaïston lo founded Wétiti village in the Lower Maroni beside Apatu. A group issuing from the Kotika lo founded Ma Imma village in the same region. Finally, from the Dipélu II lo a group separated which settled in Asisi. Asisi village is thus in fact nowadays the juxtaposition of three villages: Asisi-Dju, Asisi-Awara Bakka, Asisi-Dipélu II, each having its organization and its separate territory.

[829] These scissions have no appreciable repercussions on the social life of the Boni, for the groups thus separated from the lo, in addition to being very small in numbers, are not recognized by [769] the grand man as distinct social units. They remain subject to the head of the lo to which ancestor worship attaches them.

● 361 613 621 Besides the residence villages, a certain number of Boni have personal farming habitations distributed on the lands of their lineage along both banks of the river and on the islands. These habitations designated by the word kāpu, camp, have no permanent character; their existence does not violate the principle of localization of the lineage; each Boni is obliged at least in principle to build a house in his native village and to live in it part of the year. [769] [778] The village of origin of each /20/ lineage is called "great village": it is there that the members of the group meet to pray to the ancestors in front of the fraga tiki.

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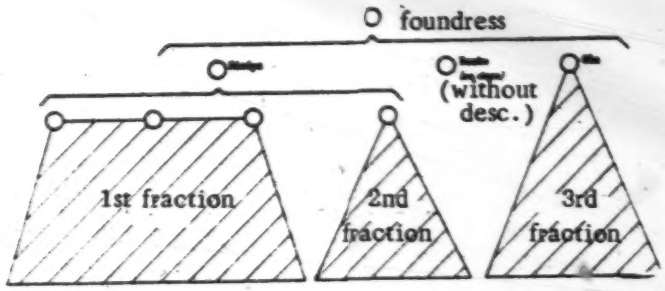

Fig. 4. Common genealogy of the three fractions of the Kotika lineage.

[621] divided between the small villages of Lapé Tabiki and Loka. It is a well-grouped lineage whose members know their genealogy perfectly as far as a common ancestress named Mata, who must have lived at the end of the 18th century; only one small group which we shall call Lapé 2 (descendants of Atili) does not know exactly the ties attaching them to the principal group. The law of exogamy is respected rigorously within this group; there is not a single case of marriage between the two fractions. The members of the two fractions consider themselves a single lineage.

[784] They have the same kunu.

[184] Note that there is a Lapé lo among the Djuka, regarded as of the same origin.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin has settled in the villages of the Lapé lo.

613 [361] The Dju lineage, which occupies the central part of the Asisi Island, also fits the definition of kin groups among the Refugee Blacks. Its members know /25/ their entire genealogy as far back as a common ancestress named Aluku, doubtless, tracing to the middle of the 18th century.

/28 cont./

613 614 784 [621] although the supposed common ancestress doubtless goes back to the beginning of the 18th century and for three generations they have been divided among four villages situated at a week's distance by boat from one another. We can, with very few chances of error, affirm that they certainly have a common matrilineal origin and that they in fact constitute one lineage.

182 619 [361] [484] On this subject let us note that geographical separation cannot play the same role among the Refugee Blacks as in the African tribes of cultivators. The Refugee Blacks, whose habitat is linear along the banks of the river and who, being boatmen, are continually moving, cannot be completely isolated from one another.

613 614 591 /29/ Under these conditions, how can we explain the existence within certain lineages of individualized fractions subject to a separate kunu, such as Papaïston 2?

One can assume that these fractions do not really have the same origin as the principal group and that they result from a process of assimilation of a paternally related fragment.

We have cited the example of Aneta's descendants (Aw. B. 3). They are already integrated into the social life of the group; in two or three generations nobody will remember any longer their exact origin. But they will remain differentiated from the principal fraction of the Awara Bakka because they will still be subject to the kunu of their ancestress. [784]

121 Such are the elements we have been able to draw from a general study of kin groups among the Boni. We shall look for other data in the study of the implantation of these groups on the soil, and especially of the apportionment of lands among them; finally, we shall study family custom and especially inheritance.

A complete understanding of the kinship system and its functioning can be obtained only in the future by following the evolution of kin groups, the formation of new villages; and the designation of new headmen.

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Fig. 5. Boni Village

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Fig. 6. The fragatiki of the Kotikalo.

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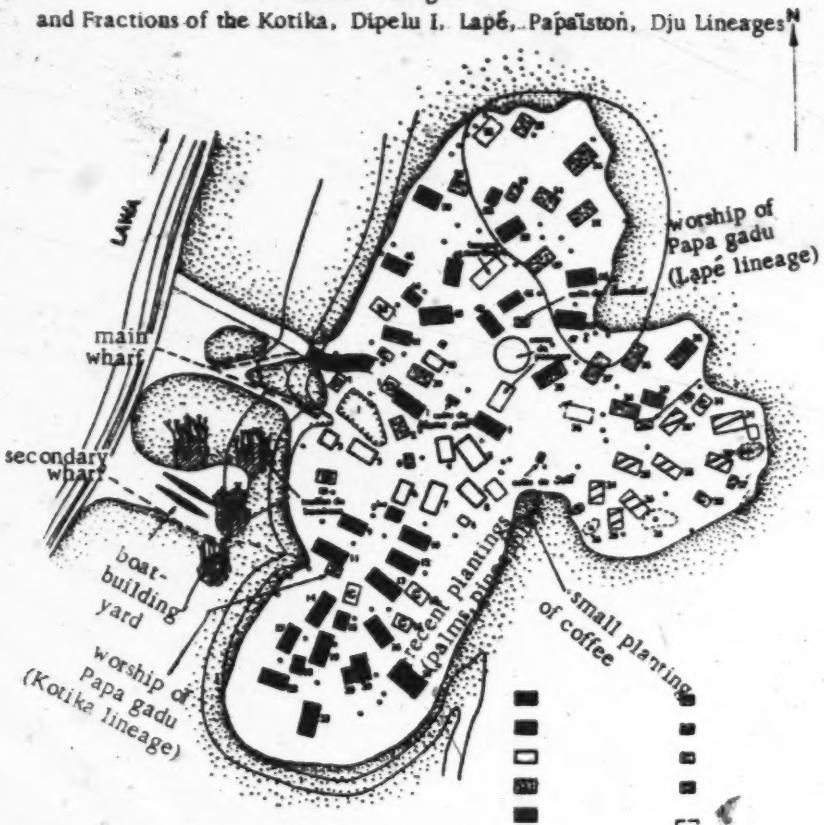
Agodé Village
(Boniville)
in Oct. 1957
Dikan Lineage
and Fractions of the Kotika, Dipelu I, Lapé, Papaïston, Dju Lineages



Scale 1/1000

/touffes de bambous = clumps of bamboo;
culte de = worship of;
cases de passage = guest houses;
hangar mortuaire = mortuary shed/

/see symbols on p. 66a/

Fig. 7.

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/The symbols below refer to Fig. 7 on p. 66./

lineages

- Dikan
- Kotika
- Djuu
- Dipetu
- Lapé
- Papaïston
- Poti (Djuka origin)

- chapels (gadu ɔ/u)
- Munu ɔ/u (1)
- kitchens
- various outbuildings (granaries, etc.)
- building in ruins
- single trees
- clump of banana trees
- clump of pinot palms /ouassi/

(1) Houses to which women retire during their menstrual periods

6:Hurault--68 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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l'Enfant Perdu Village
(Dipelu I lo)
in 1957

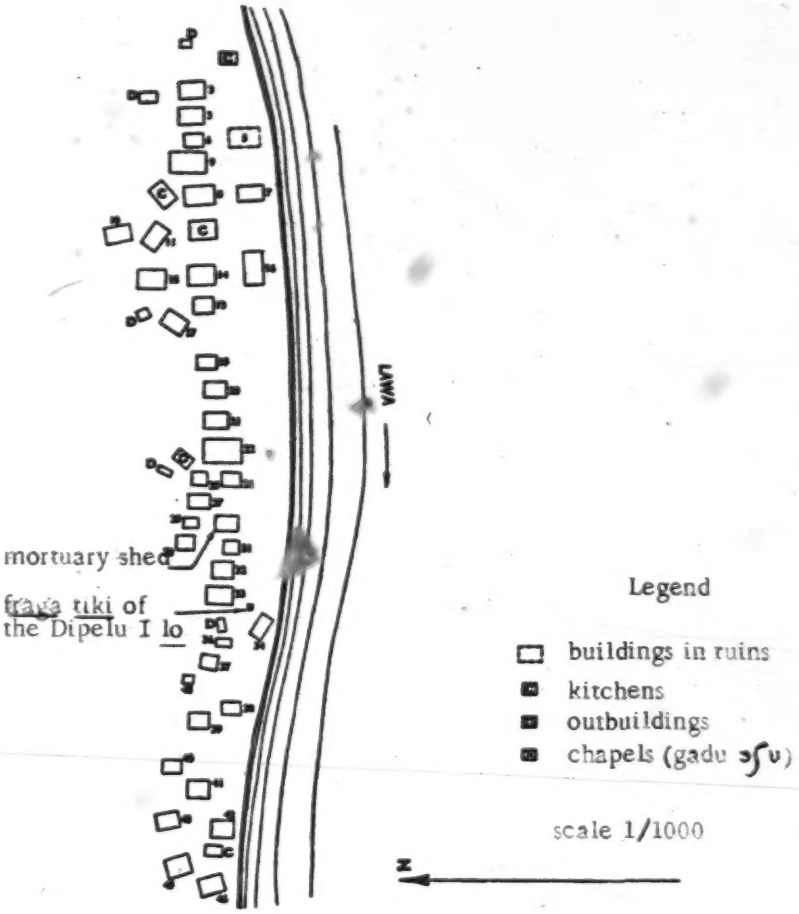

Fig. 8.

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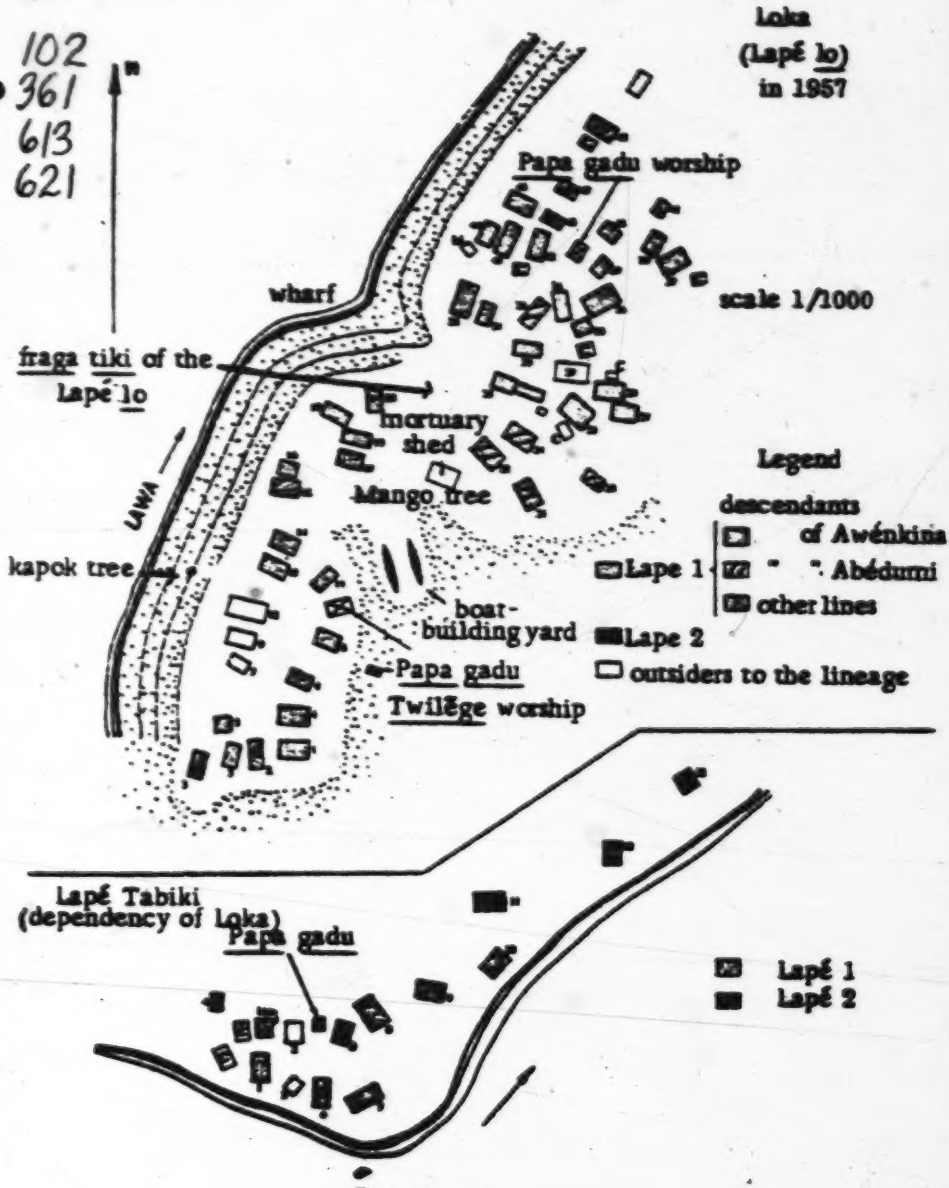

Fig. 9.

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Asisi
Dju Quarter
(Dju lo)
in 1957

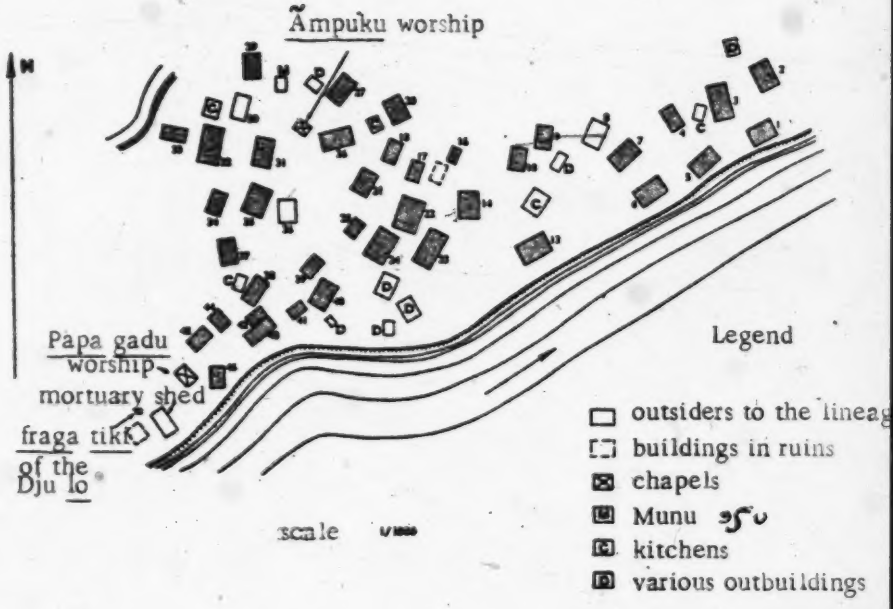

Fig. 10.

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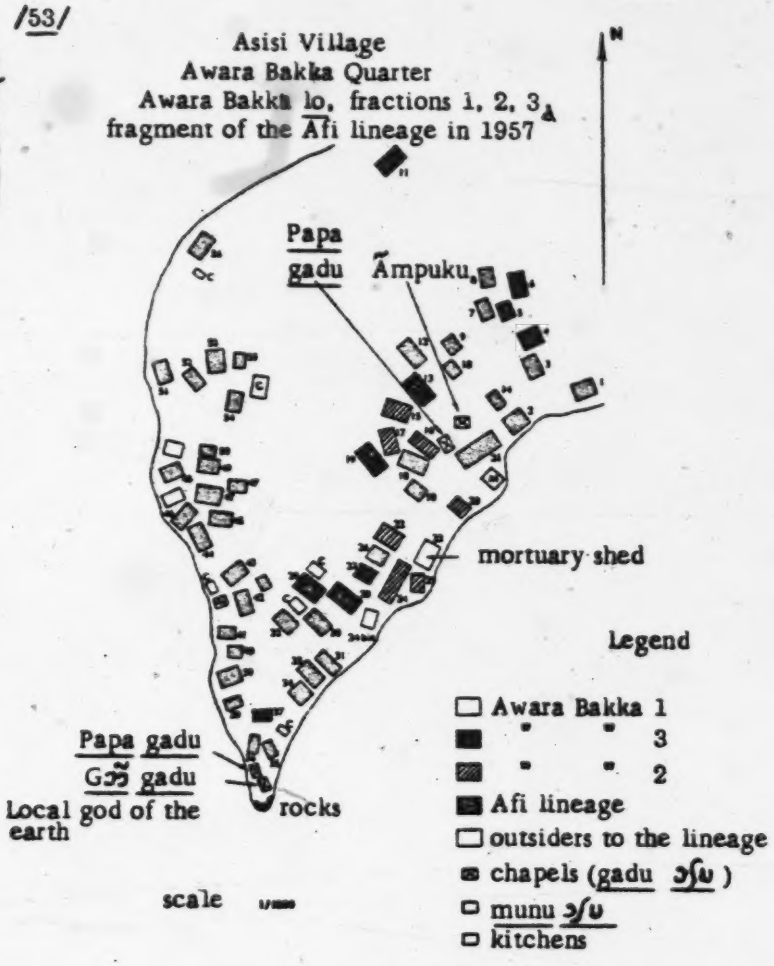

Fig. 11.

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Papaïston Village
in Oct. 1957
Kawina or Papaïston lineage,
fragment of the Toïna (Bakabuchi) lineage

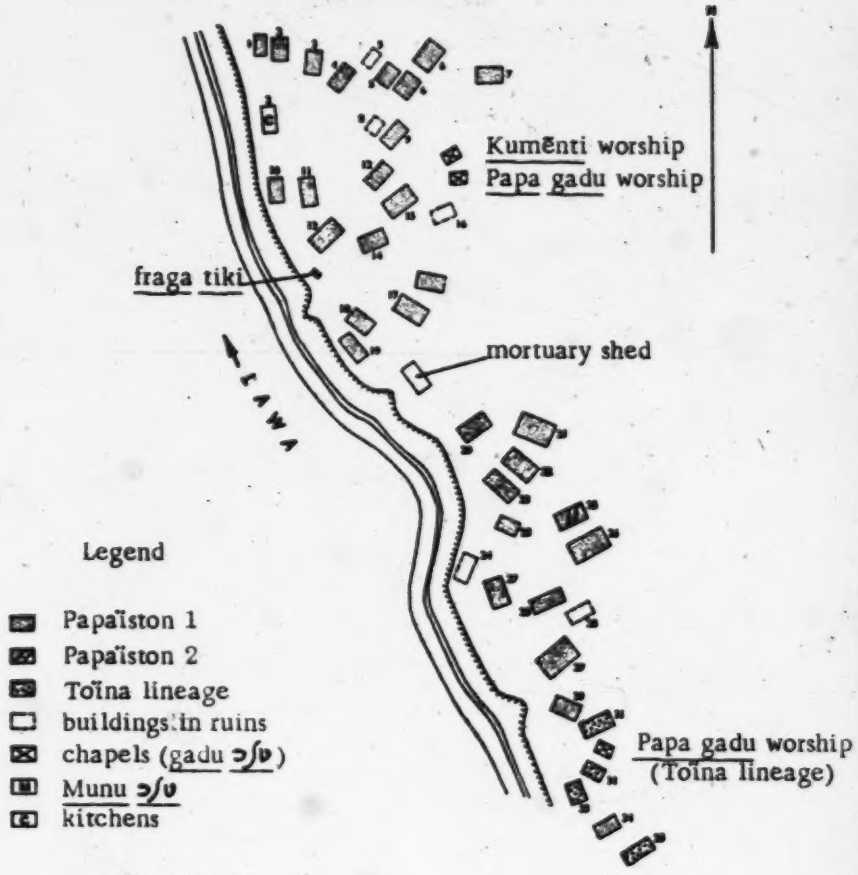

Fig. 12.

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Kormotibo and Asisi-Dipélu Villages

Dipélu II lo

[128] [361] We did not judge it useful to include the plan of the habitat of this group, consisting of two hamlets which are badly kept up and in decay.

[162] As of January 1, 1958: 62 persons, of whom 31 are children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence in these villages is not normal:

△ Alémin 1880 (Afi lineage)	has always lived isolated
○ Magdaléna 1912 (Afi lineage) (raising 4 children under 16)	came to live with her husband Léon (Dip. II, † in 1954); remained there afterward.
△ Doïchiman 1934 (Afi l.)	raised by his mother Magdaléna, lives near her.
△ Dokwé 1938 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Gongolon 1937 (Afi l.) (raising a child)	idem
○ Mauda 1935 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Ninga 1899 (Papaïston 2)	separated from her group after a disagreement.
△ Bénu 1928	Ninga's son, followed his mother.

Total: 8 persons raising 4 children under 16 years.

/60/

There are no gardens around the cabins because the conditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another and sometimes very far from the village.

If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals, custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees. In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms /attalea excelia/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe. The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages

1876	Death of Grand Man Atyaba.
1877	Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.
1882	Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

[Agodé bakka locality]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
8 △	Grand Man Difu	1952	--	?
9 ○	Paata (Djuka woman settled in Boniville)	1947(?)	id.	already used by Paata about 1940
10 ○	Térésa (L2, E57) clearing cut by her sons	1953	id.	?
11 ○	Paata (see above)	1953		already used by Paata in 1950

Thus, out of this group of eleven clearings, two remain attributed to the grand man, one to a woman of the Dju lineage, two to a Djuka woman, one to a woman of the Lapé lineage, five to members of the Kotika lineage, all inhabitants of Boniville. /85/

[361]
[166]
[931]
[554]

Study of the clearings of the fraction of the Papaïston established in Boniville. This group formerly lived in Puu Mofu village at the mouth of the creek of the same name, abandoned about 1940 following an epidemic. Its settlement in Boniville is therefore recent. The oldest man in the group, Bukuman, a man of some 60 years, exerts de facto authority.

This group tends to add to its initial finage the band of land included between Boniville village and Puu Mofu Creek belonging to the Dikan lo (especially clearings Nos. 12, 13, 14).

Gitthrault--142 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Boni

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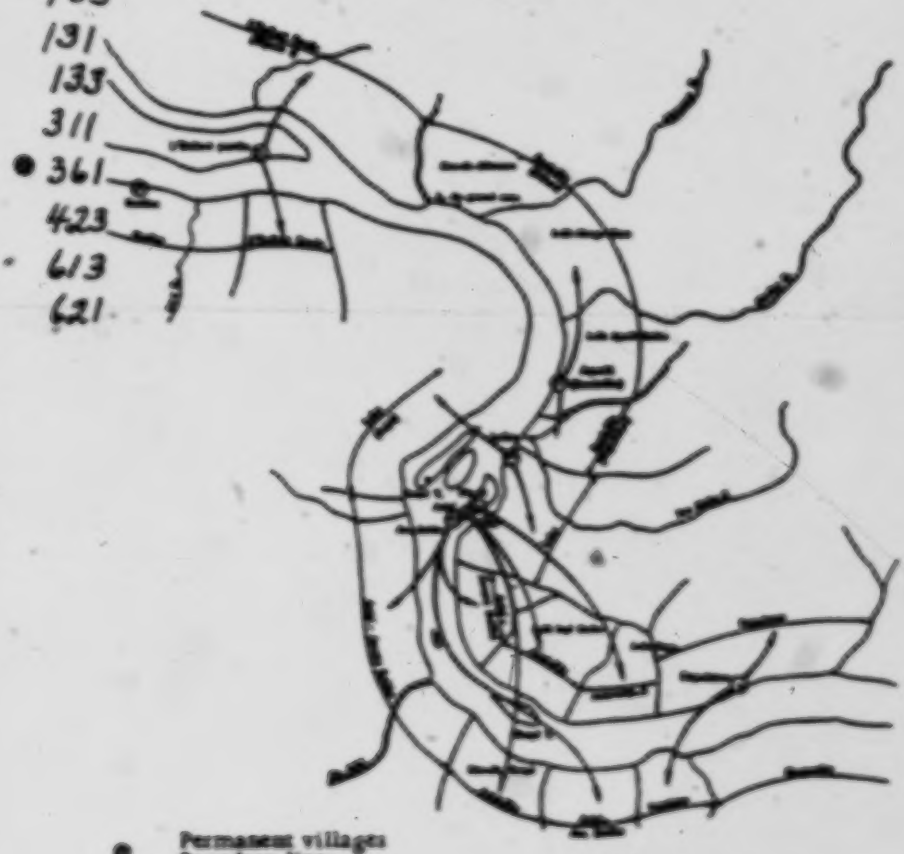
Distribution of Lands in the Neighborhood
of the Principal Boni Villages



● Permanent villages
Boundary lines

Scale:

/K. or Cr. = Creek,
Lieu-dit = locality,
h. du grand man = habitation of the grand man,
Zone inondable = floodable zone./

Fig. 18.

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182 161 241 423 613 That this system is perfectly viable has been sufficiently demonstrated by the regular expansion for two centuries of the tribes of Refugee Blacks and by the good functioning of their institutions.

182 Thus the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana cannot be attributed to the influence of the geographical environment alone. It comes essentially from social and psychological factors.

/100/ STUDY OF FARMING HABITATIONS

128 We are now going to study the functioning of the farming habitations under the same aspects:

--Structure (composition of each one, kinship ties);

--Territorial implantation: nature and extent of rights over the land;

--Functioning.

241 62 184 Not all Boni have a farming habitation; about two-thirds of them are satisfied with the lands they occupy near the residence villages.

241 621 361 162 613 The farming habitations we are going to study more especially and which are situated between the mouth of the Inini and Simayé Falls to the south, group about a hundred persons belonging to the Dju, Lapé, Awara Bakka, and Papaïton lineages. Another group of farming habitations situated a little south of Konnoribo, which we shall study briefly and only so far as their composition is concerned, bring together about 60 persons. Finally, other very dispersed farming habitations exist, belonging principally to the Kotika lineage, some in the Maripasoula region, others in the Abattis-Kotika Falls /region/.

241 184 621 [361] [162] On the whole, the Boni farming habitations cannot be compared either as to importance or stability with the Djuka farming villages which are placed at intervals on the middle course of the Maroni, grouping 3,000 to 3,500 persons: this is easy to understand: the Djuka, continually short of land, are obliged,

/100 cont./

24 62 [184] under pain of losing their rights, to occupy the soil to the maximum. Besides, settled very far from their residence villages, they are led to creating more lasting establishments.

Among the Boni, farming habitations do not amount to much, built carelessly (to designate them one says kãpu (camp), and the groups who work there are not very stable.

423 241 [182 184] However, the principles of establishment and functioning of farming habitations are exactly the same for the two tribes and result on the whole from the customary laws which, among the Refugee Blacks, govern the possession of land:

[425 613] 1) When a man cuts a clearing in a zone which has never had any human establishment, he creates at the same time as a right of use for himself an imprescriptible real right for his lineage (bee) or more precisely for the fraction of the lineage living in the same village and subject to the same authority;

[428 613] 2) This right is joint; at the death of an individual, anyone of that fraction of his lineage may occupy the lands he used to cultivate habitually. If there is a dispute, it must be settled within the framework of the lineage; /101/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ /102/

3) The extent of the zone over which this right is exercised is limited only by the zones over which other rights are exercised.

We have seen what mode of occupation of the soil resulted from these laws in the neighborhood of the "great villages." Here the distribution of lands among the farming habitations follows practically the same laws, whose effects are less rigorous, considering the very low density of occupation of the soil.

425 [361] 1) It is taken for granted that an isolated establishment in a quasi-deserted zone does not create lasting rights. If it happens to disappear, anybody may come to settle there after ascertaining from the first occupant that he no longer needs the place (such is the case with the very scattered establishments south of Simayé Falls up to Indian country; they do not create real territorial rights for the benefit of any lineage whatever.

6:Hurault--145 K-5 (1948 1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

/facing p. 100/

102
103
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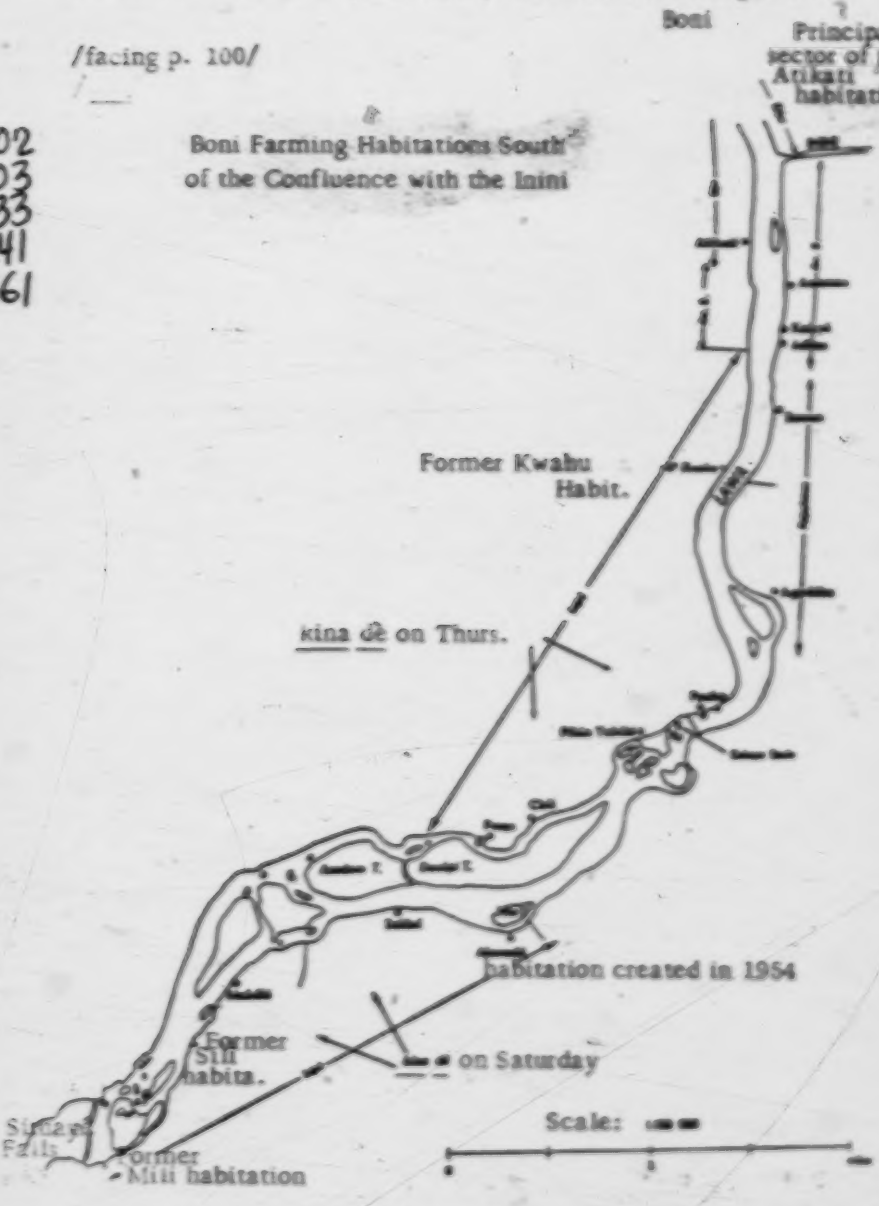

Fig. 17.

/102 cont./

425 2) On the contrary, from the time that occupation of a region becomes habitual, even by groups of small numerical importance, people pay attention to the attribution of the lands. [361] [613] Thus it is assumed that the west bank of the Lawa south of the Atikati habitation up to Simayé Falls has belonged, since the end of the last century, to the Lapé lo, which was occupying it in 1957 by the Paako, Samo, Pwen, Saléni, and Makélé habitations.

423 613 241 361 3) Within each zone the rights remain joint and anyone of the same lo may come to settle there. Thus the farming habitations move around, but within a definite sector. Thus for example Kwaku (Lapé) abandoned in 1954 his habitation situated in the lands of the Lapé lineage (it was too damp in the rainy season, he prefers to content himself with the lands of the "great village"). He does not lose his rights because of this. If he decides eventually to come back, he will settle anywhere in the zone attributed to the Lapé lo.

182 161 241 361 425 It goes without saying that if the population were more dense, such a principle would be difficult to apply and that serious disputes would arise. But this mode of occupation of the soil is perfectly suitable, in their present situation, for the tribes of the Refugee Blacks, for it allows them to practice, with a minimum of friction, the seminomadism which the geographical environment and especially the manioc ant impose.

241 361 423 The zones occupied by the farming habitations rarely have a single holder: most often they are divided into separate sectors on different parts of the river.

504 613 361 423 Actually, as we have seen around the "great villages," each lineage possesses a certain number of "dégrads," or landing places, from which paths radiate. Each "dégrad" is rigorously reserved for the members of a lineage. The occupants of a farming village radiate from around their landing place until they

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504 /102 cont./
613 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
423 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Antonu and Adiiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
609 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
592 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
423 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
592 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiiso given to the habitation of his wife where Adiiso has no right at
[613] all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of the land by the lineage.

621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

/103 cont./

621 Atikati exercised authority by this right over the disparate group
622 around him, and at his death he bequeathed this function to his
241 sister Adyidya.

[613] Likewise Antonu exerts undisputed authority over three groups of the Awara Bakka lo settled at the mouth of the Inini, for it was he who took the initiative of creating an establishment at this place. If there is any dispute, it is he who will defend the rights of the Awara Bakka lineage.

622 The authority exercised by the founder of the farming habitation is not brought to bear in material living, which remains subject to the strictly individualistic principles of the Refugee Blacks. He cannot require anyone to help him make his clearings or do any work whatever on his behalf.

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613 Farming Habitations of the Awara Bakka lo
(Antonu, Adiiso, Kakyé)
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini

621 These habitations work soil whose first user was Antonu, of
241 the Awara Bakka lo (fraction 1), which is regarded as belonging
[613] to that lineage. Antonu settled there in 1945 (he was finding that
[423] there were too many people farming the lands near Asisi).

To insure his rights, Antonu put on his land two groupings
621 whose situations are very different:
241
592 1) In his own habitation he installed his wife Asakundu, and
423 around her he made up the work group commonest among the
[476] Refugee Blacks: group formed by the mother, her sons and daughters, the daughters' husbands coming to help at the time of the /104/ clearings. But it is important to note that this group has no right at all over the land: if Antonu and his wife ever separate, the wife's group will leave the habitation.

c:Hurault--158 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 108/

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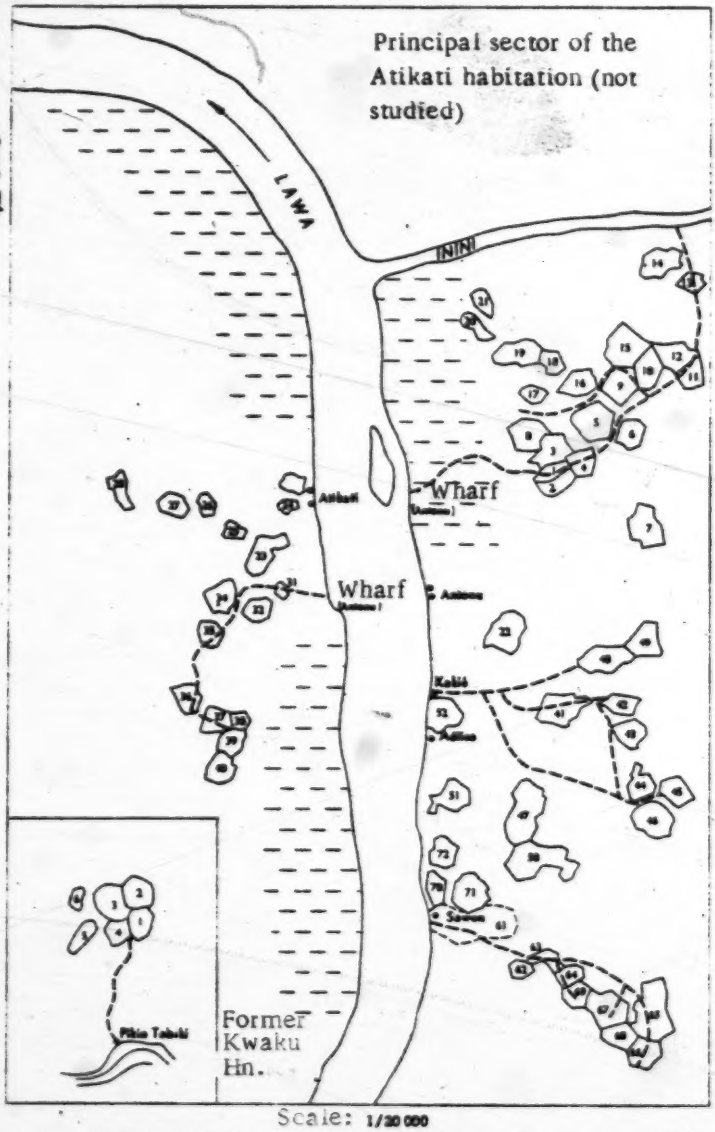
Distribution of Lands among the Lineages
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini



Scale: 1/20 000

After photographs by the 003/200 IGN mission, taken in October, 1956

• farming habitation

floodable zone

clearings studied in January, 1957

Fig. 18.

/111 cont./

361 241 613

Habitation of the Dju Lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

621 241 [613] [423] [476] Structure of the Atikati habitation (Dju lo). Important habitation founded by Atikati, of the Dju lo, possessing an extended finage fragmented into several blocks on both banks of the Lawa.

This habitation has an abnormal composition, for Atikati worked there with his daughters, which is contrary to custom, and with friends.

622 Atikati directed the village with his old friend Bernardin (K1, D62), † in 1958, who was the son of a man of the Dju lo and had lived among the Dju since childhood.

621 241 613 [622] The basic group of this habitation is made up of people of the Dju lo. Since Atikati's death (1955), his sister Adyidya (Dju, E19) has directed the village.

Members of the Dju lo:

○ Adyidya
○ Baawé (Dju, E13) } both without living children
△ Loko (Dju, F39)
△ Atikati worked with his daughters and granddaughter:
○ Wilèlmina (P1, F1);
○ Kumata (P1, G1), daughter of Wilèlmina.

To this group were added in 1957:

△ Bernardin (K1, D62), raised with the Dju;
○ Asumé (Dip. I, F2), daughter of △ Bernardin and ○ Mimen †.

[423] Finally, two Kotika women married to Djuka asked for permission to settle there and have their clearings cut there. But they have no right at all over the land:

○ Nèlla (K1, D44);
Maké (K1, E35), her daughter.

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/113/

Habitations of the Papaïston lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

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Structure of the Sawen and Agodéba habitations (Papaïston lo).

Habitations occupying an extensive zone, attributed for at least 60 years to the principal Papaïston lineage.

Working with Sawen (P1, E7) are:

--His nieces Héléna (P1, F2) and Emilia (P1, F3);

--His nephew Aguundé (P1, F4).

Working with Agodéba (P1, E1) are:

--His sister (in the classificatory sense) Kamen (P1, E14);

--His niece (in the classificatory sense) Gou (P1, F8).

Moreover, a group is settled there centered on Toïna, Agodéba's wife, representing the last of the Bakabuchi lineage, almost extinct:

△ Toïna, Agodéba's wife;

/△/ Mangoto, Toïna's son;

Apuulobi.

[423] This group has no right over the land and would leave in the case of a break-up of the Agodéba-Toïna household.

Finally, a female friend, Puti (F71), of the almost extinct Papaïston 2 lineage.

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Activity of the Agodéba habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
△ Agodéba	1 clearing for his wife Toïna	id.
○ Kamen	1 clearing cut by her husband Adam who made no other	id.
○ Gou	1 clearing cut by her husband Béku	id.

[same habitation (Pikin Tabiki)]

/116 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
3	○	Mélita; clearing cut by her husband Kwata	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
4	○	Mélita; cl. cut by her son Déési	1954	id.	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1948, then in 1953 for the 2nd time
5	○	Téké; cl. cut by her husband Baïna	1951	id.	3 years (cut in 1948 for the 1st time)
6	○	Téké id.	1953	id.	cut for the 1st time

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Farming Habitations downstream from Maripasoula

Several habitations are installed in the Kuyaku locality, very fertile region giving high yields of manioc (1).

1. This fertility is explained by the nature of the subsoil (sills of dolerite).

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Ownership of the land: Dipélu II lo (Kormotibo village). Several habitations side by side:

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591 /117 cont./ Atikati (daughters living with their father, groups of friends having no rights over the land).

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591 It seems that exceptions of this kind have always existed among the Refugee Blacks, but they are probably tending to become more numerous.

178 They do not appear to be due to a change of conception about family structure but to a development of individualistic tendencies. These groups of aberrant structure are particularly unstable.

361
241 Stability; changes of location. On this point there is no precise custom. Certain farming habitations are old, such as those of Sawen and Atikati, which certainly date from the beginning of the century. Most appear to last from five to ten years. Others, like that of Kwaku, have had only an ephemeral existence.

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166 The changes of location of habitations which have taken place in this region since 1950 have very variable causes: /118/ /Fig. 20 appears here/ /119/

△ Dyakata (Dip. I)	left the region to live in the lower Maroni among the Paramaka for personal reasons.
○ Chili (Dip. I)	went to settle near Maripasoula. Gave up his habitation at Simayé Falls because of manioc ants.
△ Kwaku (L)	His habitation was too damp and the activity of the manioc ants too great. Henceforth lives all year in Loka.
[226] △ Akwadé (L)	Had no habitation, created one in 1954 near Simayé Falls. Was looking for a site favorable for fishing, from which he lives almost entirely.

On the whole, it can be estimated that the average duration of a farming habitation is about ten years. In these moves,

[Text Continues on P. 173]

6:Hurault--172 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 119/

Grouping of the Members of the Dju Lineage
into Sectors and Farming Habitations
October 1957

This chart shows the absence of any tendency toward the scission of the lineage into separate fractions.

Fig. 20.

/119 cont./

361 241 166 exhaustion of the lands does not seem to play any part: considering the sparseness of the population, one can either make new clearings out of primary forest or carry out any system of letting land lie fallow one wishes.

Most changes of location can be attributed to two causes of equal importance:

[136] [613] --The activity of the manioc ants; we have said that since about 15 years ago the principal soil of the Lapé lo, situated near Loka village, has had to be totally abandoned as a consequence of exceptional activity of manioc ants. From this resulted the creation of several farming habitations on the soil of the Lapé lo studied here;

361 241 166 598 --Personal motives, among which comes first of all disagreement among the members of a group. For example ○ Kulina and ○ Bakamaman (Boniville, Dju) made their clearings until 1950 with their mother Béniti in her farming village in Kuyaku locality (to the south of Kormotibo).

In 1950 there was a quarrel. Kulina and Baïkom have made their clearings since that time at the habitation of their father Malobi (Lapé).

[168] It happens especially that upon the death of its founder a farming habitation disappears or changes composition entirely because disagreements arise.

361 24 166 Another cause of change of location of farming habitations is change of activity of their occupants. For example, a man grows old, he no longer finds paid work, he creates a habitation in order to take up fishing (Akwadé's case). When he reaches extreme old age, he abandons his habitation to move close to his relatives (case of Samalobi, first occupant of the lands cultivated nowadays by Antonu village). /Page 120 blank/

/223 cont./

784 613 428 begin his instruction in order to become a suitable bearer. (If this procedure were not carried out, the god would not cease its kunu at all, and the possibility of entering into contact with it and appeasing it would be lost. Besides, sooner or later it would come back into a member of the lineage.)

784 613 [602] The kunu strikes without regard to kinship ties, even if kinship between the bearer of the god and the supposed victim is very distant. Ex.: The Papa gadu of Donasi (Papaïston lo) struck a young woman, Gou, with illness in January, 1957. [782] Donasi and Gou are only relatives in the ninth degree. The [361] members of the entire Papaïston lineage assembled to supplicate the god: even people of Wétiti village in the lower Maroni came.

775 784 613 The kunu exercised by the yɔrka of a dead person has a special importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, for it has profound repercussions on the relations among the lineages.

[428] In principle, the yɔrka exercising a kunu has as bearer a living member of its own lineage, who will bequeath it at his death. But it is also possible that the yɔrka may take as bearer a member of the lineage upon which it exercises the kunu.

[782] In both cases, the rite to appease the yɔrka is the same; the yɔrka can be invoked effectively only by the members of its own lineage, since one can pray (at least in principle) only to one's own maternal ancestors.

When matrilineage A is struck by the kunu exercised by a yɔrka of matrilineage B, its members thereupon go to consult the elders of matrilineage A /sic/ and ask them to try to calm [769] the anger of their ancestor. The members of lineage A assemble [778] around the fraga tiki of lineage B, in back of the elders of this [787] lineage, in the presence of the bearer of the yɔrka, who calls on his gita, goes into trances and prophesying. The yɔrka [782] usually asks for an offering of cane juice and tafia, which is made at the foot of the /224/ fraga tiki by the elders of lineage B (for the rite to be efficacious, the offering must have been furnished by lineage A).

/261 cont./

241 neglecting these rites. Their rigorous observance has the effect of preventing farming from becoming for them a commercial activity and of keeping a religious and family feeling in it.

824 778 784 [776] --The kākāti (silk-cotton tree) is a much feared tree, for according to the elders each one of them shelters 12 categories of divinities, especially a Papa gadu and an Ampuku. So it is absolutely impossible to cut it. One must even be very careful not to injure its roots which spread far. The site of every one felled is preserved. Likewise people watch carefully so as not to injure the roots of the big silk-cotton trees often found in the villages.

824 778 776 ●361 Still, the fact that their site was chosen for setting up a village shows that people believe they can make an alliance with the divinities which reside in a silk-cotton tree and draw their protection upon themselves.

824 778 789 [776] --The katu tree (Bombax Surinamiensis), tree of very large size, living in symbiosis with a parasitic liana which appears to enclose it in a gigantic net, also shelters maleficent divinities (Ampuku, Papa gadu, Bumba gadu). One may cut it down after performing rites whose purpose is to transfer these divinities into another tree.

First, one must have procured from a man who possesses this remedy a pot of ɔbia containing an infusion of leaves in the middle of which is a bracelet of fibers. /262/ It costs [435] two liters of tafia, four liters of beverage (beer for example), one large piece of cloth, and one machete.

Having arrived at the foot of the tree, one bathes his body and machete with this infusion; one puts the fiber bracelet on one's arm. One also bathes several small sticks provided [822] with squares of white cloth (for the Papa gadu), dark blue and red (for the Ampuku), and a pinot palm (pina tɔŋgo) leaf.

One plants the sticks at the foot of the tree, one strikes the trunk with the palm leaf while invoking the divinities of

/283 cont./
*539 kept village), more overrun by the bush than Puu Mofu (2).
• [361]

2. Village abandoned and overrun by the bush south of Boniville.

Pikinbaya no longer had anything to wear but an old rice sack, for it was that pot which used to make the village rich.

The parrot said: "I would gladly go to look for the pot, but I have no teeth." The rat said: "If I had had wings, I would have gone to look for the pot." The parrot said to him: "Come on my back." He jumped on the parrot's back. He flew, flew... until... he alighted on the big mast of the boat, kpwala! The rat reached the iron case. He gnawed it, kwokwo! burst it, took the pot, pa! At the moment when people were beginning to notice the parrot's presence, he flew away, flew, as far as... Pikinbaya's village.

There is Pikinbaya, rich again.

The king's eldest daughter arrived at her father's village. The king came with his automobile to get his daughter and the trunk. They arrived at the palace, he opened the trunk: nothing! He said: "That astounds me. But I must find that pot which makes Pikinbaya rich, I must know where it is." The king had three daughters. He said: "I am going to send the second to him; she will succeed in finding that object."

(The same scene is repeated. The daughter succeeds in seizing the pot which she puts into an iron casket, enclosed in an iron case. The parrot and the rat go and win it back, but the rat breaks one of his incisors.)

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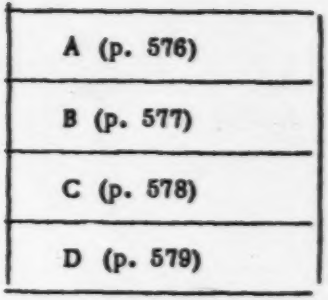

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

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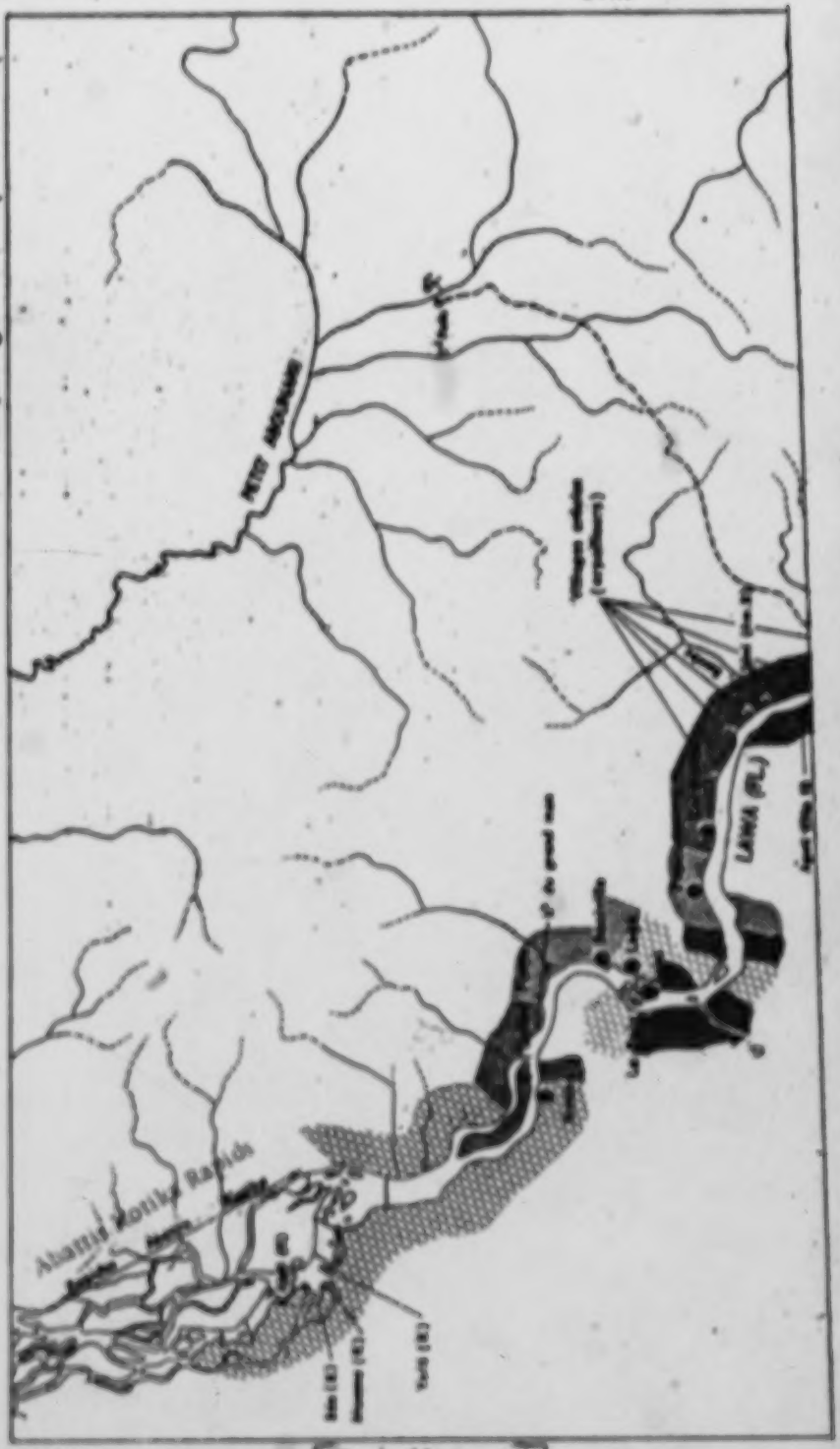

End Map - A

COURSE OF THE LAWA

(French Guiana)

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING

Gillmault--577 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Boni

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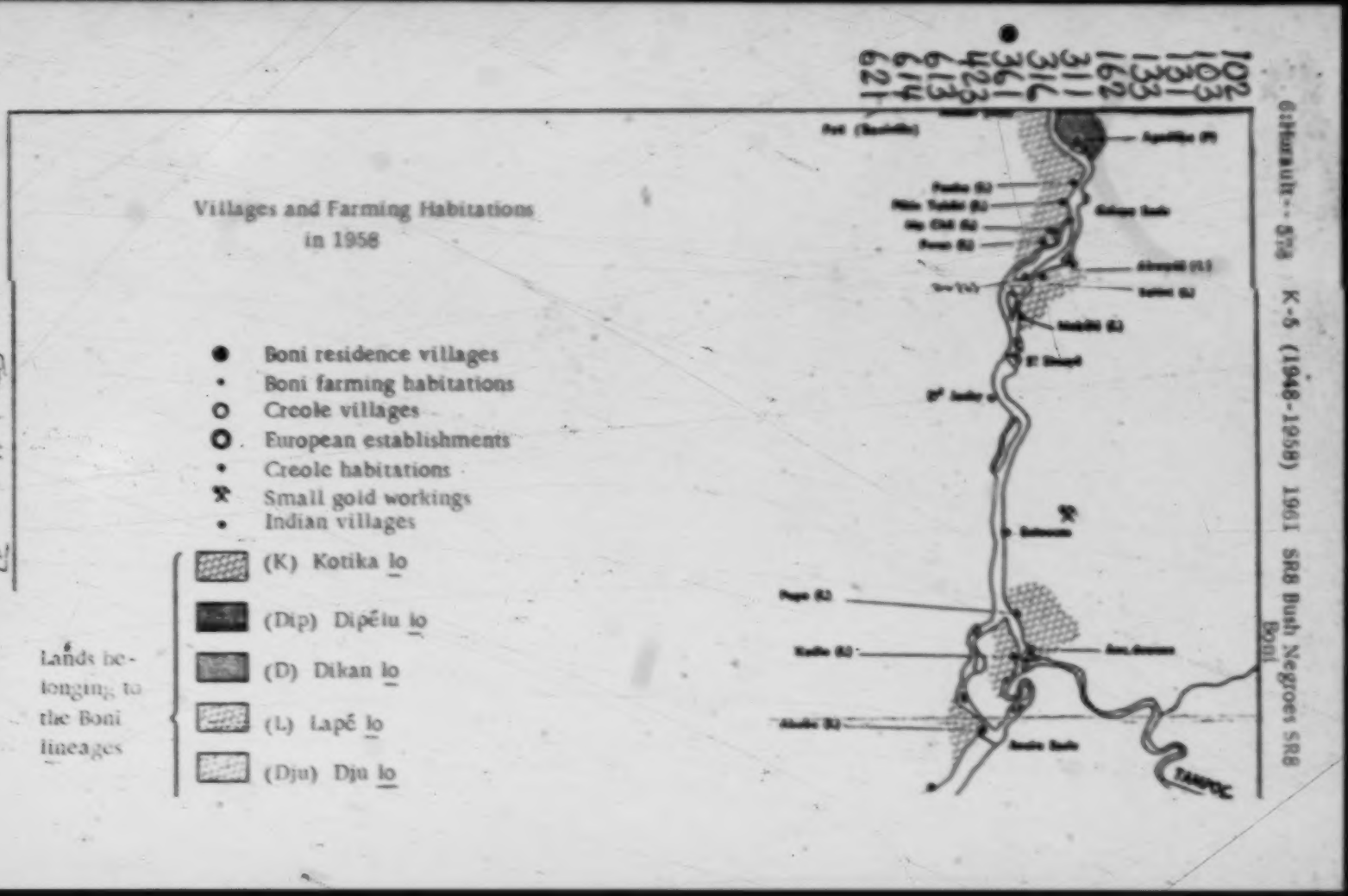
End Map - B


Villages and Farming Habitations
in 1958
Boni residence villages
Boni farming habitations
Creole villages
European establishments
Creole habitations
Small gold workings
Indian villages
(K) Kotika lo
(Dip) Dipéiu lo
(D) Dikan lo
(L) Lapé lo
(Dju) Dju lo
Lands belonging to the Boni lineages
Guillemault--578 K-6 (1948-1958) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Boni
TAMPOC

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6:Hurault--579 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

(D) Dikan lo

(L) Lapé lo

(Dju) Dju lo

(Aw.B.) Awara Bakka lo

(P) Papaïston lo

Scale 1/200.000

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Km.

Indiens Oyampi

Tolingo (Papaïston)

Grand Kaoki Saute

Petite Saut Saute

Kaoko (L)

Abokoi (L)

Awara Saute

TAMPOK

LITAKO

Mont [illegible]

Land Map - 5

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A (p. 580)	B (p. 581)	C (p. 582)	D (p. 583)

Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

6:Hurault--580 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

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• 361
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Photographic montage made with the help of photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana
Scale 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[End Plate -A]

6:Hurault--581 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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• 361
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504

Scale 1/20 000

[End Plate - B]

6:Hurault--582 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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504
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614

Scale 1 / 20 000

[End Plate-C]

C:Hurault--583 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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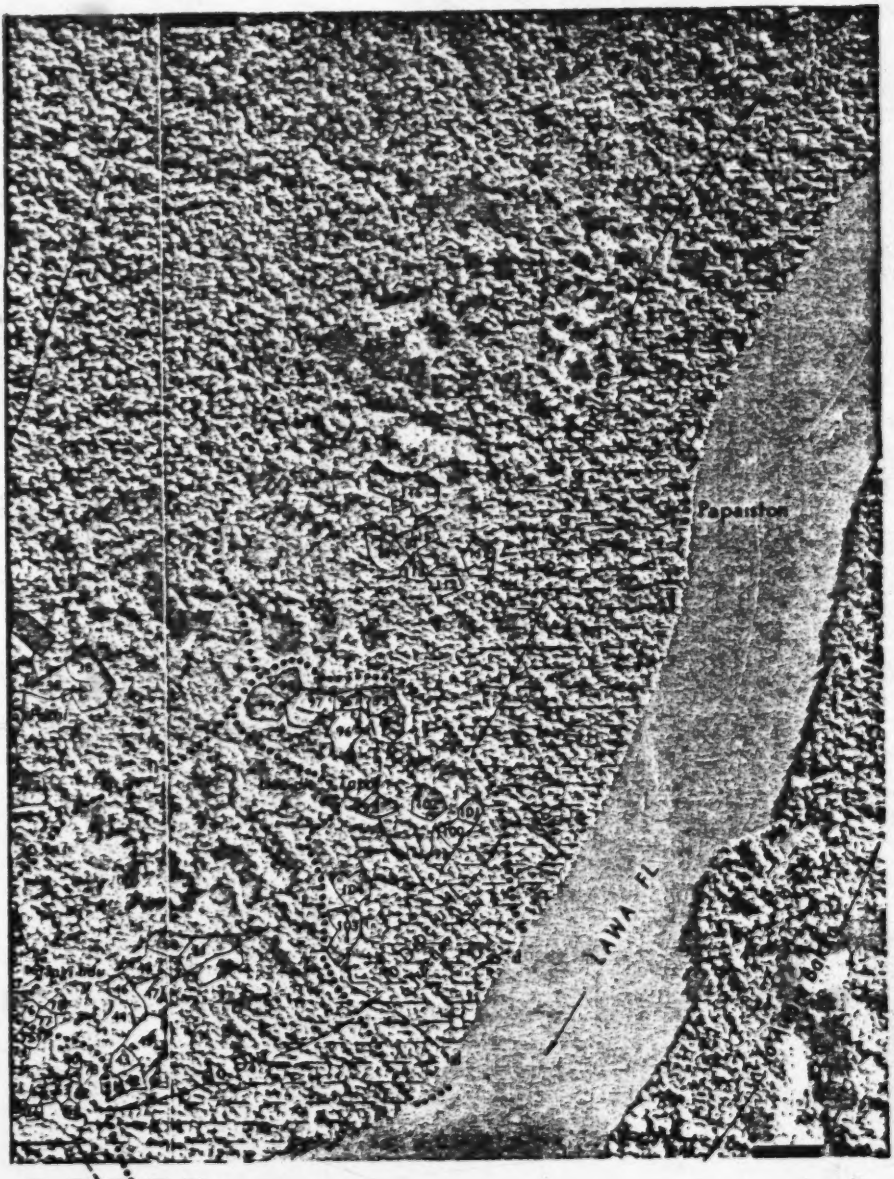

Agodé Permanent villages
clearings
floodable zones
boundaries not known
farming habitation
dégrad (wharf)
path
approximate boundaries of agricultural land

[End Plate - D]